



Pondering over the destiny of the Nation

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Editor

G. N. DAS, L.A.B.

Joint Editors

K. MOHAPATRA

J. K. ROY

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Jawaharlal Nehru on the Tribal People

The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways.

I am alarmed when I see—not only in this country but in other great countries too—how anxious people are to shape others according to their own image or likeness and to impose on them their particular way of living. We are welcome to our way of living, but why impose it on others? This applies equally to national and international fields. In fact, there would be more peace in the world if people were to desist from imposing their way of living on other people and countries.

I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain their's is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second-rate copy of ourselves.

I came across the tribal people first, rather distantly, in various parts of India other than the North-East Frontier. These tribes were the Gonds, the Santals and the Bhils. I was attracted to them and liked them and I had a feeling that we should help them to grow in their own way.

Later, I came in touch with the tribal people of the North-East Frontier of India, more especially of the Hill Districts of Assam. My liking for them grew and with it came respect. I had no sensation of superiority over them. My ideas were not clear at all, but I felt that we should avoid two extreme courses: one was to treat them as anthropological specimens for study and the other was to allow them to be engulfed by the masses of Indian humanity. These reactions were instinctive and not based on any knowledge or experience. Later, in considering various aspects of these

problems and in discussing them with those who knew much more than I did, more definite ideas took shape in my mind and I began to doubt how far the normal idea of progress was beneficial for these people and, indeed, whether this was progress at all in any real sense of the word. It was true that they could not be left cut off from the world as they were. Political and economic forces impinged upon them and it was not possible or desirable to isolate them. Equally undesirable, it seemed to me, was to allow these forces to function freely and upset their whole life and culture, which had so much of good in them.

We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time we should avoid over-administering these areas and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into tribal territory.

It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture. These avenues of development should, however, be pursued within the broad framework of the following five fundamental principles:—

(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.



The Smile that cheered millions.

J

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Tamed by affection



With tribal dancers from Orissa



He was also taking them



A happy moment in Orissa (right: Sri B. Pattnaik, Chairman,
Planning Board)

EDITOR, G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

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WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN A MID TERM APPRAISAL FOR TRIBES

According to the 1951 Census of Orissa the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes population was 2,987,136 and 2,620,763 respectively out of the total population of 14,843,948. Thus the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes constituted 20.2 per cent and 17.0 per cent respectively of the total population. According to the 1961 Census, the population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are 4,221,757 and 2,763,878 constituting 24.07 per cent and 17.54 per cent of the total population of 17,546,846. There has been an increase of 42 per cent in Scheduled Tribes population whereas the increase in the case of Scheduled Caste population is 7.06 per cent. The higher percentage in respect of Scheduled Tribes population is due to the inclusion of a few more communities in the Scheduled Tribes list by an order of the President in 1956. There are at present as many as 62 tribes in the State. There is a heavy concentration of tribes in the four districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh, Koraput and Phulbani and the agency of Ganjam district, the tribal

population in these areas coming to a total of 2,485,000. These areas containing 34 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribes population constitute the scheduled area of the State.

In 1956, the tribes of Orissa were classified into the following categories: (1) Tribes living in primitive conditions, (2) Tribes in transition, (3) Agricultural tribes and (4) Adivasi tribes. The first category of tribes are still living in unproductive hilly areas with their distinctive way of living. The forces of change have not penetrated into these areas and the various development programmes in the last five plan periods have not touched them.

These tribes are still in the infancy of nature with an extremely primitive technology. The tribes are semi-nomadic in the form of shifting cultivation on some amount of soil cultivation on beds of forest trunks while retaining their tribal characteristics they have acquired some of the cultural traits of their neighbouring tribes. The estimated tribes have lost their original tribal

characteristics and have been integrated into the caste structure of the societies. The so-called aristocratic tribes (Kshatriya) are descendants of deities or great warriors.

Recently, the caste system is being revised in the light of the abolition of the caste system. The caste system is being revised in the light of the abolition of the caste system.

Districts	Sub-districts	Name of the caste or tribe	Approximate population	
Bihar	Bhagalpur	Dogra Kshatriya	9,000	
		Dogra Kshatriya	14,000	
		Dogra Kshatriya	4,000	
	Bhagalpur (cont.)	Kandh	14,000	
		Kandh	4,000	
	Patna	Kandh	4,000	
	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	Kandh	10,000
		Bhopal	Kandh	10,000
		Bhopal (cont.)	Kandh	10,000
			Kandh	10,000
Gujarat	Surat	Kandh	10,000	
	Surat	Kandh	10,000	
Rajasthan	Jaipur	Kandh	10,000	
	Jaipur	Kandh	10,000	
Karnataka	Mysore	Kandh	10,000	
	Mysore	Kandh	10,000	
Andhra Pradesh	Vizag	Kandh	10,000	
	Vizag	Kandh	10,000	
Tamil Nadu	Chennai	Kandh	10,000	
		Kandh	10,000	
		Kandh	10,000	
Total			14,000	

These tribes have been classified as 'A' category tribes and for the rapid improvement of their economic condition special concentrated efforts are now being made by comprehensive resettlement programmes with all facilities for agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, poultry, piggery, marketing of their produce, purchase and sale centres and supply of daily necessities. These tribes are being aided by Government of India have specifically approved an expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs during the Third Plan period for resettling at least 200 families of these A category tribes.

The problem of welfare of Backward Classes has been receiving special attention of the State Government ever since 1946. Prior to the First Plan an expenditure of the order of Rs. 46 lakhs was incurred for this purpose. In the First Plan this was stepped up to Rs. 7.27-56 lakhs out of which a sum of Rs. 1.45-11 lakhs was incurred under State Plan. The total outlay for the Second Plan was kept at Rs. 7.16 lakhs, Rs. 3.80 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.36 lakhs under Central Sector. The actual expenditure incurred was Rs. 6.60-09 lakhs, Rs. 3.31-94 lakhs under State Sector and Rs. 3.28-15 lakhs under the Central Sector.

At the time of formulation of Third Plan proposals were made for a sum of Rs. 5.25-55 lakhs to the State Sector and Rs. 10.78-35 lakhs under Central Sector. However the total outlay of the Third Plan for the welfare of Backward Classes was fixed at Rs. 9.67 lakhs when the proposals for the Third Plan were discussed at Delhi on the 4th November 1960. Out of this Rs. 5.24 lakhs was earmarked for opening 60 Tribal Development Blocks and the balance of Rs. 4.43 units for other schemes as approved by the Government of India. The State Sector of the plan was fixed at Rs. 4.63 lakhs covering all the schemes as approved by the Central Working Group and the Tribal Development Block programme as left to the Central Sector with the allocation of Rs. 5.24 lakhs. Subsequently Government of India revised the allocation of Tribal Development Blocks to Rs. 3.05-8 lakhs due to the decrease in the number of Tribal Development Blocks allotted to the State and the following schemes which were included in the State Sector of the Third Plan were transferred to the Central Sector. The revised allocation in the Central Sector are shown vis-à-vis the original allocation in the State Sector.

Scheme		Original outlay (Rs. in lakhs)	Revised outlay (Rs. in lakhs)
1.	Forest Co-operatives	30.00	33.94
2.	Research and Training	6.00	7.50
3.	Social Education and Research	4.00	
Total		40.00	41.44

Activity	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total Cost
1. Salaries for sweepers (Bongang)	2000		
2. Fuel for sweepers (Bongang)	500		
3. Maintenance of sweepers (Bongang)	100		
4. Salaries for sweepers (Bongang)	2000		
5. Fuel for sweepers (Bongang)	500		
6. Maintenance of sweepers (Bongang)	100		
Total	5000		23.75
2. Salaries for sweepers (Bongang)	2000		9.00
3. Fuel for sweepers (Bongang)	500		2.25
4. Maintenance of sweepers (Bongang)	100		0.50
Grand Total	2600		12.75

[illegible]

	State Sector		Local Gov.	
	Original	Revised	Original	Revised
Scheduled Trips	1,041.00	1,113.00	4,746.00	5,046.00
Unscheduled Trips	1,500.00	1,500.00		
Unscheduled Trips	12.00			
Total	4,631.00	4,631.00	5,246.00	5,792.00

[illegible]

for running educational institutions in tribal areas, women co-operatives were included in the plan. The main

targets especially aimed at under a few important schemes of the Third Plan are indicated below.

SCHEDULE 1

Scheduled Tribes

		Rs. in lakhs
1	Primary Schools	25
2	Pre-matric schools	24,000 students
3	Mid-day meals	926 centres
4	Hortals	281 bungalows
5	Poultry rearing	1 Spk. unit
	6 units	
6	Projects	2 units
7	Co-ops	4 units
8	Drinking water-supply	2,500 wells
9	Rural communication	600 miles of road
10	Mobile Health Units	9 units

Scheduled Caste

1	Pre-matric schools	24,000 students
2	Drinking water-supply	1,000 wells

Unscheduled Tribes

Scheduled Tribes

1	T.D. Blocks	57
2	Forest co-operatives	45

Scheduled Caste

1. Projects - housing and forest villages of Scheduled Caste - under co-operation

Unscheduled Tribes

1	Residential schools	5
2	Cooperation housing	400 bungalows
3	Sinking wells	5

It has been pointed out earlier the consequent upon the transfer of certain schemes to the Central Sector. Outlays of some schemes were revised. A few such schemes are discussed.

5. Ashram Schools

Scheduled Tribes

Ashram School. A sum of Rs. 70 lakhs was required for completion of buildings of some Ashram Schools. As the existing provision was raised to Rs. 42.81 lakhs. Scheme, 1973-74, 1983. Government decided to augment these students in such Ashram Schools by raising the strength of each school from 90 to 120 for which a sum of Rs. 8 lakhs was estimated for each year of its remaining 3 years. The ceiling was further raised to Rs. 50 lakhs. The original target of opening 7 Ashram Schools have already been achieved. A few more are being contemplated to be opened if additional funds are available during the plan period.

2) *Pre-Ashram Stipends.* The provision of Rs. 30 lakhs for pre-matric stipends for Scheduled Tribes students was considerably less than in view of the rate of attendance given a different levels. Hence, the amount was raised to Rs. 41 lakhs but the target for the number of students remained the same.

3) *Hostels.* A list of hostels buildings were roughly estimated to cost about Rs. 3,000 on average. Subsequently it was proposed, a central M. C. and High School hostel at Rs. 4,000 each and post-matric hostel at Rs. 9,000. Hence, more work had to be provided and a sum of Rs. 14.84 lakhs was provided as against Rs. 8 lakhs for about 15 hostels.

4) *Piggery and Goat Rearing.* Originally it was contemplated to have two sets piggery units at a cost of Rs. 63 lakhs. Subsequently, one divided to two sets combined piggery and goat breeding unit at Chipling for which a sum of Rs. 8.49 lakhs was estimated. Adequate funds could not be available the unit was reduced to Rs. 4.64 lakhs.

5) *Drinking Water-supply.* The target was fixed at 1,500 wells when it a sum of Rs. 1,000 was being allocated for each well. But the cost of sinking wells is still a no. several times have gone up. As a sum of Rs. 500 is being given for each well and from 964 towards a sum of Rs. 2,000 would be given for the sinking of each well in heavy and difficult areas. In view of this the target will have to be fixed as low as 500. A further reduction under this head may be made if additional funds under Ashram Schools but a revision would be made necessarily towards the new year of plan period.

Scheduled Caste. 1) *Pre-matric stipends.* As in the case of Scheduled Tribes, the necessity to increase the provision to Rs. 35 lakhs was keenly felt. Hence, the ceiling was raised to Rs. 46 lakhs. For distribution of stipends and other grants, it has been contemplated to award stipends to about 40,000 students as against the earlier target of 30,000. Meanwhile a scheme of reimbursement of distribution of stipends is under the review has been adopted whereby the number of stipends has to being fixed each year according to the availability of funds. The rates of stipends at different levels remain

used. So also distribution of reading and writing materials has been fixed for different classes.

2. *Houses* As at the end of Schedule Tribes the construction of hostel buildings was estimated at Rs. 14,000 each. More funds were therefore required. So the outlay of Rs. 20 lakhs was raised to Rs. 32.65 lakhs for about 184 houses.

1b. *Drinking Water-Supply* As the cost of sinking of wells has gone high, the target of 1,000 wells could not be achieved. It is being spread to allow Rs. 2,000 for each well in the next two years from 1964 onwards. So the likely target would be about 750 wells.

GENERAL SCHEME

Scheduled Tribes (1) *Tribal Development Blocks* At the time of finalisation of Third Plan targets it was agreed to open 100 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5.24 lakhs was allocated. Subsequently the Government of India fixed the percentage of tribal population for Tribal Development Blocks from 55 to 66.7 and allotted 57 Blocks with a reduced plan provision of Rs. 1,07.18 lakhs. Later on 4 more Tribal Development Blocks have been allotted raising the number to 61 for the Third Plan period. No revision has yet been felt necessary as the financial outlay due to shortfall in the performance in the first two years.

Unscheduled Tribes (1) *Residential Schools* It was originally contemplated to open two Residential Schools. As a result of the scheme for the

Unscheduled Tribes modern and accordingly two schools have been opened by the end of 1963-64. Since there is demand for more it is being proposed to open one more in 1964-65, bringing the total number to 3. The likely expenditure by the end of Third Plan would be Rs. 4.48 lakhs.

(2) *Sinking of Wells*—The revised target has been fixed at 80 wells against 120 as the cost of sinking wells has gone up.

The programme of welfare measures for the backward classes are undertaken under the following broad heads:

- (1) Education
- (2) Economic uplift.
- (3) Health Housing and other schemes.

A few selected important schemes of Third Plan under each head are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

(1) *Education*—The most important scheme under this head is the Ashram School. This is a residential type of school imparting general education up to M.E. Standard and the minors are taught certain selected crafts. As the expenses are borne by the Government. At the initial stages tremendous difficulties were experienced to get tribal students for these schools.

As a result of this work, made during the First Plan as a result of which the tribal education has improved and the students are available in large numbers. By the end of the Second Plan 76 Ashram Schools were opened including one for Scheduled Caste during the Second Plan. During the first three years of the

Third Plan 7 more Ashram Schools have been opened thus bringing the total number to 43. About 7122 scholars including 1032 girls are now reading in these institutions. Since the cost of running this type of institutions is rather costly the number is very much limited. The Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes during his last visit to the State has recommended for opening a large number of Ashram Schools.

In the Fourth Plan and long-term plan for Backward Classes adequate provision will be made for opening more Ashram Schools.

The Primary Education of both tribal and non-tribal population has been included in the General Education Programme. Under this programme it is a need to cover all villages with a population of 100 or more. Therefore no provision has been made for opening Sashram in the Backward Classes Sector. Recently it was felt that the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste boys and girls in the age-group of 6-11 find it hard to go over long distances of 3 to 4 miles to prosecute their studies in Primary Schools. In order to give these students Primary Education in their villages where at least 20 or more children of the above age-group would be available it has been decided to start Channails. More attention is being paid to the most backward tribal areas. During 1963-64, 30 Channails have been sanctioned and 100 more will be opened in 1964-65. It has also been contemplated to open 125 Channails during 1964-66.

Providing hostels in the M. E. Schools, High Schools and Colleges for the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled

Tribes and other Backward Classes students has assumed importance in the welfare programmes for Backward Classes. Prior to the First Plan only one hostel at Raunagar was opened for Adibasi boys. During the First Plan period one more special hostel was opened at New Capital for the Adibasi boys who were brought from different districts to read in the High School after they passed from Ashram Schools. During the Second Plan period the facility was extended to 10 M. E. Schools, 12 L. P. and M. E. School and High Schools and as many as 25 special hostels, 66 M. E. Schools hostels and 2 non-communal hostels for Scheduled Tribes and 42 L. P. and M. E. School hostels for Scheduled Castes and 143 L. P. and M. E. Hostels for other Backward Classes were opened. It has been proposed to open 154 hostels for Scheduled Tribes and 184 for Scheduled Castes in M. E. Schools, High Schools and Colleges during the Third Plan period. During the year 1961-62 and 1962-63 40 M. E. 20 M. E. and 12 L. P. School hostels have been opened for Scheduled Tribes and 59 M. E. and 28 M. E. School hostels have been opened for Scheduled Castes. During 1963-64 18 hostels would be opened both for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes including one for girls at New Capital. The targets fixed would be achieved by the end of the Third Plan.

Continuing Education

As mentioned in the preceding report Government have decided to pay special attention to the most backward Tribes of the State and for the rapid improvement of the economic conditions a special scheme has been drawn

up for resettling them. The scheme aims at bringing down these tribes from their hills above to compact areas near the foot hills or in plain with a group of 200 families. All necessary facilities like agriculture, horticulture, poultry rearing, irrigation facilities will be given to them. Besides, their children would be given special education in residential schools to be started in these colonies. Purchase and sale centres will also be opened to supply their daily needs and to market their produce through these centres. Resettling a group of 200 families in a one will cost about Rs. 10 lakhs. There are about 2 tribes of this A category tribes and it would be a long time up after to resettle all of them. However to start with, a programme has been drawn up to resettle 100 families during the Third Plan period at a cost of Rs. 9 lakhs. Future programmes mostly depend on the successful implementation of the present one. A Special Officer (Class.) has been appointed to plan, organise and execute the special scheme.

Poultry and Piggery Schemes have also been given importance for the supply of improved variety of pigs and poultry birds to the tribes people. A special poultry farm and a piggery farm has been started at Chiplima. In the piggery farm, goat rearing and breeding will also be taken up.

In the Central Sector, opening of Tribes Development Blocks has been taken up as the most comprehensive major scheme. In 1956, Orissa was allotted 4 S. M. P. Blocks, now renamed as Tribes Development Blocks. For the Second Plan and these were started at Narayanpata, Kasher

Rampur and Tolkol. During the end of Second Plan, a committee was set up under the Chairmanship of late Dr. Yashwantrao Chavan to review the working of these Tribes Development Blocks and to give suggestions for their future programme. The committee recommended for opening more Tribes Development Blocks to cover all areas of tribal concentration with at least 25 per cent of tribal population. On this basis it was first agreed at the time of Third Plan discussion at Delhi, to select 60 Tribal Development Blocks for which a sum of Rs. 5.24 lakhs was recommended. But the Home Ministry later on fixed the percentage of tribal population as 55.25 per cent for Tribes Development Blocks and allotted 37 Blocks with a financial provision of Rs. 3,05.18 lakhs. Subsequently 5 more Tribes Development Blocks have been allotted bringing the total number to 42. The four S. M. P. Blocks of the Second Plan are continuing in stage-II and out of 42 Tribes Development Blocks, 5 were opened in 1961-62, 8 in 1962-63, 2 in 1963-64. There is proposal to open one more in 1963-64 at Narayanpata. In Khaspur which Government of India recently agreed to. During 1964-65 14 Tribes Development Blocks will be opened and the balance in 1965-66. Proposals for opening of many Tribes Development Blocks as possible with a minimum tribal population of 50 per cent have been forwarded to the Government of India.

Another response scheme in this Sector under the economic group is opening of Forest Co-operative Societies and other Co-operatives. The scheme has been introduced with a view to check exploitation of the

tribals and to make use of their forest produce by marketing the articles through these societies. This scheme has been successful to a certain extent and so various co-operative societies are being established during Third Plan. By the end of Second Plan 25 Forest Co-operatives were opened in the State. During 1961-62, the first year of the Third Plan 4 Forest Co-operative Societies were started. During 1962-63, 7 Forest Labour Contract Co-operatives, 3 Tassar Co-operatives and one non-Edible Oil-seeds Co-operative Society were opened. During 1963-64, funds have been sanctioned for an Apex Society for Tassar, Copra, one Lift Irrigation Co-operative Society, four Co-operative Farming Societies, two Purchase and Sale Centres and 3 Labour Contract Co-operatives, 2 Forest Marketing Co-operative Societies. In the fourth year of the Third Plan it has been proposed to start one Apex Society for minor forest produce in Koraput district and to organize five Purchase and Sales Centres. Further programmes would be drawn up after the availability of funds.

Health Housing and other Schemes

Under the health programme opening of Mobile Health Units has been given importance. By the end of Second Plan 7 units have been functioning in the State. 9 units are to be opened during the Third Plan. During 1961-62, 3 Mobile Health Units were opened and in 1962-64, 3 more have been opened. It has been proposed to open the other 3 units in 1964-65. For want of medical technical staff and doctors, these units are being run with great difficulty.

Very often medical staff are not inclined to work in tribal areas. However steps are being taken to give special incentives like compensation allowance, special agency allowance, etc. to induce the medical staff to serve in the tribal areas under the scheme.

Provision of housing facilities for Scheduled Tribes and for Scheduled Caste sweepers and carpenters and house dogs for Scheduled Caste engaged in unclean occupation has been beneficial to these people. By the end of Second Plan 7,717 units of houses were constructed for Scheduled Tribes and 1,388 units of houses for the Scheduled Caste. In the Third Plan there is a provision of Rs. 8 lakhs for Scheduled Tribes housing in the State. Sector 319 units of houses have been constructed during the first two years of the plan. During 1964-65, 300 units of houses will be constructed and in 1965-66, 300 units of houses are to be constructed. For housing the sweepers, Municipalities, Notified Area Councils and other local bodies are generally preferred. If they are not found suitable, the Government will have to provide funds in the best possible way. Since the cost of building a good type of house for the sweepers is a little higher say about Rs. 1,500 the Municipalities and Notified Area Councils are to supplement funds from their own as Governments of India have agreed for a sum of Rs. 1,250 per unit of house. By the end of 1962-63 a sum of Rs. 11.43 lakhs have been utilized for this purpose and 1,495 sweeper families have got the benefit. During 1963-64 about 500 families were

benefit in which a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs has been sanctioned. During 1963-64 60 units of houses would be provided to the slum-dwellers in the local houses. By the end of Third Plan a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs would have been sanctioned for the slum-dwellers and 100 units of houses would be provided. By the end of Second Plan a sum of Rs. 100 lakhs would have been sanctioned for the slum-dwellers and 200 units of houses would be provided.

Lastly, drinking water facilities in the cities and towns are in an urgent need. Drinking water facilities are provided by sinking wells and wherever necessary tanks are also excavated. By the end of Second

Plan 4,669 wells were sunk in Scheduled Tribes and 973 wells in Scheduled Castes. During the next five years in the First Plan 644 wells have been sanctioned by 1963-64 a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs has been sanctioned for sinking of wells in the urban areas. During the next five years 1,000 wells will be sunk in the urban areas. During the next five years 1,000 wells will be sunk in the rural areas. During the next five years 1,000 wells will be sunk in the urban areas. During the next five years 1,000 wells will be sunk in the rural areas.

The targets and achievements in urban sanitation schemes are given below.

Name of the scheme	Achievement by the end of Second Plan	Schemes sanctioned during last two years of Third Plan	Achievements for urban areas in the third year	Target fixed for first year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
STATE SECTION				
Scheduled Tribes—				
(1) Ashram Schools	26	5	2	7
(2) Hostels	85	78	1	135
(3) Pre-matric. sch. ponds	43,546	5,000	5,000	5,000
(4) Poultry raising	61 units	1		3 units
	171 units			
	2,000 units			
(5) Gram schools	334	97		2
(6) Drinking water-supply	4,669 wells	78	20	28
(7) Rural and intermediate	4,211 wells	148	11	100
(8) Mobile Health unit	3	3	3	3
Scheduled Castes				
(1) Pre-matric. sch. ponds	43,104	5,000	5,000	5,000
(2) Hostels	42	87	17	21
(3) Drinking water-supply	42	240		200

Name of the scheme	Achievement in the year of Second Plan	Achievement in the years of Third Plan	Achievement in the subsequent years in the third year	Target fixed for fourth year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
CENTRAL SECTOR				
Scheduled Tribes				
(1) T. D. Blocks	4	12	13	4
(2) Forest Co-operative soc.	25	14		8
(3) Post-graduate Scholarships	412	568	390	390
Scheduled Caste				
(1) Swarnajayanti and H. Jayanti of Sched- uled Caste engaged in various occupations		1,493	500	200
(2) Post-graduate Scholarships	480	642	400	400
Non-scheduled Tribes				
(1) Residential Schools				

We have accepted the principle of equality and it has become the fundamental right of the citizen in the Indian Republic. Ours is not however a neutral or abstract type of equality. We do not simply enunciate the principle and provide a legal framework for the removal of the vested means against equality. Our aim is not simply to provide equal opportunities for all and watch the process. Ours is an active and constructive type of equality wherein the State actively is engaged in favour of socio-economic weaker sections of the society and emphasis is given on the positive rather than the negative aspects of equalisation.

India is a country where the range of social and economic living of the people is so high that it has justly been called the warehouse of cultures, heterogeneity. Here we find the extremely primitive tribes, wholly dependent on the bounty of nature in a subsistence economy and living their traditional life untouched by the outside world, on the one hand, and on the other we find people engaged in scientific research and industrial production equipped with the most advanced science and technology and using scientific methods for

Survived between them is perhaps the entire range of human culture from subsistence, man as he is called. A common denominator, progress and all of them would be, simply about, and equal opportunities, under such uneven conditions would mean the perpetuation of inequality. The Con-

dition of India has, therefore, exposed upon the State, through its Directive Principles of the State Policy a clear special opportunity to the weaker and underdeveloped sections of the Indian nation and make special efforts for their welfare and progress. This policy which has been so faithfully implemented through all the Five-Year Plans is no where so clearly defined as in the case of tribal welfare.

There are two basic implications in this policy. The first implication is that due to their extreme economic backwardness, there has been comparatively higher provision for the tribal people in all the three plans. Like any other people the tribal people are entitled for the benefits of planned development, be it addition to, they receive special treatment from the State, especially with respect to economic and educational programmes. The orthodox economic principle of "investment for higher returns" has been ruled out in this case. For the huge investments in this sphere, the "return" needed has been in a broad program of the tribal people. This aspect of the policy is too clear to require further elucidation.

The second implication of this policy is in a sphere which is more debatable and which is yet struggling to take a shape. The tribal people are not only economically backward, they are also culturally different. They have a different set of values, different socio-cultural traditions of planned progress, which are different in kind and which we so naturally

also for grants, have perhaps not the same meaning for them. It is therefore necessary to acquaint the tribes and to translate our ideal of planned development into their own language. This has led to the launching of research programmes as an integral part of tribal development.

Research on tribal society and culture has unfortunately been haunted by certain concepts of pseudo-scientific origin. One of these is the intended emphasis on the conservatism of the tribal people. A school of thought has developed which has endowed all types tribal activities with mysterious virtues and considers them as essential for the existence of the people. This school of thought has also to be "preserved" as their way of purity and this belief has been the greatest impediment for the growth of social sciences towards change and progress. However social scientists are gradually becoming alive to the fact that the tribal people have an inherent aptitude for changing themselves.

A hill Bonda who attends a school at a large town who attends a hospital disregarding the highly ritualized practices of the witch doctor of his society, jumps over concepts of magic and his break with tradition is more drastic than our own society. The reason is that the real problem is the change which is taking place in the very life of the tribes. This change, because it is rapid and drastic, needs to be properly planned and scientifically guided. This is the only way of change which in the past has completely exterminated many vital and viable tribes like the Andaman Islanders and Tasmanians, should prop us to apply the hands to the problem.

One of the major defects in our understanding of tribal people has been our inability to understand what is of universal

value in their culture. In the past, people with a superior military organization or superior technology or every other respect have been able to dominate over people who had a much better way of living. Technology has gradually taken the place of military organization though both are incomparably different. Our society, which by virtue of its superior technology, is dominant over the tribal society has not been able to appreciate the latter's virtues which it lacks. And it is because we have not been able to receive what is best in them, we have not been able to give what is best in us. It should be one of the aims of research to chalk out a scheme of give and take to the mutual benefit of both, thus ultimately working out a process of healthy integration.

Though tribal people lack modern technology, they have a way of life, a way of living which is superior to ours. They regard a bird as an efficient hunter both to deal with the wild animals and the kings of conservatism. In the Amazon, there is a primitive tribes a village in a jungle where we had no or have been told, where the time has not yet passed when it does not know. This contrasts strongly with the tribal society where relationships are gradually becoming weaker as the people get to know their neighbour remains a stranger. The tribal people are not yet ready to accept change as much more difficult than making the tribal people to adopt modern technology. Research in this direction is yet to make a beginning.

The problems, therefore, which face Tribal Welfare and Research are no problems confined to their respective spheres. They are the problems of the entire nation and a challenge to our principle of equality. We have to meet this challenge if we are to live in a free society.

What is dance ?

Dance is the overt expression of emotional energy by means of systematised muscular movement. There are certain emotional experiences which underlie the normal modes of expression. The purpose of dance is to give symbolical expression to these experiences.

Two kinds of dance

Dance may be performed, on the one hand, for the sake of its effect upon the dancer himself, or, on the other, for the sake of its effect upon his audience. In the former case it functions as a type of auto-catharsis. The dancer does not always consciously employ his movements to achieve his objective; they come as he 'incarnates' them. The purpose of this type of dance may be derived roughly into simple play or simulation, the production of religious or other ecstasy and escape from emotional stress. Tribal dance belongs in this category.

Role of Dance in Primitive Societies

In primitive society dancing is integrally connected with every phase of activity. The advance of civilisation

has largely displaced the necessity for dancing as a form of self-expression and self-education. Thus, we have to turn to primitive societies to discover its real value. Among primitive men the ascription of super-natural powers to the phenomena of nature gave rise to the celebrations of every event of significance in the life cycle of the individual and of the group as an affair of ritual as well as of actual achievement. These celebrations were frequently accompanied by the vocal or pantomimic dedication as well as by ceremonies of purely tribal significance and personal expression of joy or grief. That these rites should have found form in dances is almost superfluous, for even the most rudimentary movements, when backed by intense feeling assume larger dimensions and stronger stresses and, as the outgrowth of a particular purpose instead of merely generic excitement, shape naturally in a rhythm and form.

In all primitive dance-forms, of some sort is an inseparable feature. It is employed by the dancers themselves, either in the form of clapping, cymbals or of clapping and stamping to accent the rhythm of the movements.

Frequently singing is added to it to amplify the expression of feeling or even to tell a story. These and other devices are employed also by the dancers as a vicious participation in the dance. In its nature, form, this music is entirely rhythmic and non-melodic.

Whether Dance Is Connected to Action

It is difficult to make any narrow distinction in the dances between those which are religious and those which are social and occupational. So, the ones are apparently loosely drawn in the minds of the men themselves. The chief concerns are the problems of maintenance and increase and these prompted their dances as well. Agriculture occupies a large share of their attention and makes a basis for the mimetic dances of daily activity which are a popular source of entertainment. But the mystery of growing things involves magic and religion, and agriculture, fertility relates itself at once to sex. It is equally a problem to separate those dances which affect the individual from those that affect the group. For there is an inevitable effect upon the individual, even in a dance which is chiefly of group concern, and those dances which deal with the individual bear directly upon the life of the group as well. Thus in celebrations of birth, marriage, puberty, circumcision, marriage and death the participation is unanimous movements for a common purpose by which, more than those immediately concerned, leads to established solidarity. Some dances, largely processions in nature, have as their specific object the proving of strength and the establishment of respect for authority, but even in those designed for other ends, the satisfaction of the group

is made habitus in the mind of its members by communal dancing. The dancing of primitive men is by no means confined to special occasions. It constitutes the major part of his recreation. Whether even the purely pastime dances can be separated from them is a question, however, is a question, for the life of the savage is so divided in over y defined periods of labour and of play but saturated in fact with everything related to the two problems of an individual dance and increase.

Different Types of Dance among Primitive Tribes

Dance and Labour Activities

One of the most universal types of dancing with group significance among primitive peoples is that which accompanies labour activities requiring unity of action. The practice of working to rhythmic beating or chanting in order to achieve greater unity and efficiency of movement has been very general through the centuries and is widely prevalent in the present time.

Dance and Warfare

The dance serves a similar practical purpose in matters of warfare. War dances not only constitute a popular form of entertainment but serve at the same time to crystallize group solidarity and in the absence of formal military organization, to provide training and drill for actual fighting. In the time of a campaign their major function is to stimulate the warriors to a high level of courage and endurance in which the fear of death is made to disappear from consciousness as far as possible. Here, however, as

in so many other cases. Here it was the admixture of a strong element of religion or magic.

Such dances as have not been used in which magic is invoked or devices or agencies are also employed against less tangible forces of oppression such as drought, hardships and pestilence. Frequently such dances as have been the first number of processions have as dances in the winter season of the year.

Magic Dances

In general, these dances are magic in character, for it is a cardinal principle of magic magic has its own has a supernatural power. The statement of a magician in history is to be used to have the power to bring that was not also being. Evidence in has are used in a great number of dances of different sorts. In agricultural dances he can use the sun set invoked ritually and, phos symbols are carried in procession and, various to cause fertility. It is also a practice in hunting dances to affect the prospective prey by imitating its movements. Similarly human dances are performed, before or around the victim to promote the propagation and welfare of the species.

The fact of the that a few dances to propitiate angry deities or to destroy hostile men or influences, probably arose from the realization of the effect of dancing upon himself and his observation of its effects on others. The question of distance from the objects to be affected did not enter into his consideration for the whole proceeding is the realm of the unknown and mysterious.

Dances connected with Death

It is natural that, death should be surrounded by elaborated rites and dances. Among primitive men funeral dances are generally performed for the welfare of the departed spirit and for the protection of the survivors from evil influences. Many of the ceremonies are mimetic and were intended to influence the dead by sympathetic magic. Sometimes the dead man's outstanding accomplishments were reviewed for the benefit of the survivors and personifications and soul pullings are performed near his grave. The return of the spirit is a possibility greatly feared, and consequently every precaution is taken to prevent it.

Love and Marriage

Marriage is a cause for much dancing of a different character largely concerning itself with sex practices and fertility. There are also dances of welcome to visitors, celebration of peace, of the change of season and of similar other events.

Warrior Dances

Primitive dances are largely mimetic and except for those which are designed for sexual stimulation usually record past experiences or look forward to future ones in battle. The same or other day practices. Among war or peoples the war dance is the chief amusement. The Jaborians sometimes introduce a representative. The routine occupations, whatever they may be are the basis for picturesque dances. The primitive man seems to take a special delight also in imitative dances of as great accuracy as

possible. Those dances which deal with more personal problems provide an emotional release not only for the dancer but through kinship, sympathy, for the onlooker as well and are the root of both the art dance and the drama.

Religious Dances

A strong and often designed primitive motive to induce release energy may be cited the production of frenzy which has made dancing a part of the practice of many religious sects and their votaries. Priests and prophets of many tribes dance themselves into delirium in order to induce possession by their particular deities, and in these states of frenzy deliver their oracles. Frequently the ability to accomplish this type of ecstasy has been the test of priest-hood.

Courtship Dances

Courtship dances are undoubtedly motivated by sex and are an almost universal practice. The function of the dance in these cases is to give expression to sexual impulses but also to excite them, both in the dancer and in the onlooker. Dancing as a means of sexual selection was recognized and recognized both ancient and modern times through the Middle Ages and even into modern times.

In Tribal Dance Obscure

Much has been written on the obscure and primitive dancing and it has even been said that it is primarily sexual in intent. Evidence from many parts of the world does not bear this out. To a certain extent all dancing

is actually sexualizing, but, except in courtship dances, this sexualizing may be regarded as a by-product. Most often the movements seem to be artistic renderings of spontaneous action, resulting from some emotional state.

Dance and Group

As a rule a dance is performed by a group or groups of people all of whom move in the same way. Some dances are more though not infrequently there is a dance leader who has a special part to play. All the able-bodied adults of the community are expected to take part. Usually the sexes are segregated though this is by no means universal, but the close embrace customary in European round dances is seldom countenanced. Sometimes certain dances are restricted to one sex.

Tribal Dance and Civilization

In the dancing of primitive society are to be found all the elements of the dance and civilization has only modified them without adding anything basic. Because it is the most elementary medium for the expression of the perception of life, it is natural that it has declined in social importance with the growth of more intellectual means of expression. As a matter of fact its history is the history of the decline in every direction except that of art. The rituals, however, are numerous even in contemporary practice. Especially in religion has the dance retained its place to a large extent. This is true of both eastern and western religions except those which have grown out of the Reformation.

Brief Notes on Tribal Dances of China

All the primitive tribes of China have their specific patterns of dancing.

Dancing has considerably deteriorated among the tribes who have come into close contact with outsiders, such as the Gonds of Sambalpur and Sundergarh, the Kando of Cuttack and Puri and the plain Jungs of Orissa.

And notes on the dances of some of the most important primitive tribes of Orissa are given below:

Gonds

Among the Gonds of Koraput dance is practised throughout the year. Besides the dances are performed on special communal occasions, like marriage. The boys dress themselves with colorful cloths and turbans during the dance. The turbans are adorned with cowrie shells and the cloths are adorned with small pieces of mirror. The girls are dressed in handwoven saris and silver ornaments.

A dancing group is ordinarily formed with 20 to 30 persons of both sexes. Only unmarried boys and girls participate in the dance. The musical instruments are played on by boys. Two boys lead the dance with wooden drums. The girls dance in circles with simple steps of one and two, very often bending their bodies forward. The steps of the boys are more varied and complicated.

Kandhs

Dance among the Koyas is richly varied and complicated. The most important occasion for dancing is the worship of the mother goddess in the month of Chaitra. Ordinarily both boys and girls participate in dancing but the girls are more conspicuous. However in this festival only girls participate.

During the dance, the girls keep rhythm by beating sticks on the ground which are fitted with iron bells. Dance groups are formed with about 30 to 50 persons. The most conspicuous movement about Koya dance is the complicated winding and unwinding of circles formed by girls.

Kandhs

Kadaba dancing is performed by women who wear the famous Koranga saris and have their hair in the style. They play the musical instruments Chitra and Pava in the dancing sessions.

The Kadaba women dance in circles with steps of three and four which they gradually change to eight. The body is often bent forward. Very often the hands are moved on the back.

Kandhs

The Kandh dances are mostly confined to unmarried boys and girls and free mixing of the sexes are allowed during dances. The dances are performed especially when the boys or girls of one village visit another village. Dance forms an item in the daily routine of the Kandhs, when the boys and girls in their territories meet after the day's work.

The instrument is played upon during the dance of the Kandhs of Koraput. The girls dance in lines and the boys dance in behind and in front of them. The dance of the Pradhan Kandhs is more colourful. The girls wear saris in two parts and bangles on their ankles. They dance in rows, facing rows of boys who sing songs and play on hand-drums. The songs play a very important part in

the dance. Special dances are performed during festive occasions.

These brief notes are given to convey a general idea about tribal dance. It is not proposed to give a graphic picture of the tribe, details of areas which may be the subject-matter of further study and research. These notes are also meant to provide a background to such study.

Suggestion

As has been indicated above tribal dances are mostly not meant for exhibition but for social participation and to entertain themselves. The best method of their propagation and propagation is to use the direct method. The films and photographs are

given in schools and colleges, in the sports and other recreational activities. The attitude of the educational authorities towards dance and music should undergo a radical transformation to make this possible.

There should be some suitable theoretical research in this area. The research should not be confined to a dance or music but should cover an wider area touching sociological and psychological aspect. Research centres should be created in the Departments of Anthropology and Psychology for this purpose.

Finally, it is suggested that the state should with co-operation from the temples and other religious authorities, sponsor dancing in the villages.

case, the Doms raped a Konda girl for a cow. As a result her relatives took her to the Doms' residence. It is well known that Doms possess many things. They raped her, seduced her and snatched away all her gold ornaments.

Now Birba and Pasi are also paid in the Government people of Feron.

Department for cultivating patches of land in some forests of police lands or digging up and building in school teachers and to Sarpanches.

The following table gives a quantitative picture of the 86 cases of exploitation.

TABLE I

Quantitative picture of the 86 cases of exploitation in the Konoma villages of Koraput District, Orissa.

No.	Category of cases	No. of cases	Percentage
1	Exploitation by taking away the cattle and other valuables	44	51.2
2	Exploitation by taking away the cattle and other valuables	4	4.6
3	Exploitation by taking away the cattle and other valuables	4	4.6
4	Land alienation	9	10.3
5	Exploitation by taking away the cattle and other valuables	2	2.3
6	Rape and seduction	1	1.2
Total		86	

Regarding seventeen cases (cases Nos. 1 and 3) of exploitation by Government agencies it is seen that the rest 69 cases are done by the Doms. To put it more concretely, about 20 per cent of the exploitation cases are related to Government agencies, while in 80 per cent cases the Doms are found to be the culprits. More than half of the

cases (52.3 per cent) are of "highway robbery" type, while the frequency of rape cases is very negligible, i.e., 1.2 per cent.

Doms' Exploitation

In both Laximpur and Kumbhikora areas Doms were found to be the chief exploiters. The people around Laximpur are a little advanced having

come in contact with the modern people, and they are now easily cheated by Doms. On the other extreme the Kondhs inhabiting rocky terrain in Kumbhokota areas are more liable to fall a prey to exploitations. Kumbhokota, a village with Dom families numbering more than sixty is the centre of such exploitations. The Doms of this village not only exploit the Kondhs of their own village, but extend their grip to the neighbouring villages. The villages around Kumbhokota constitute the areas of their operation and they pay frequent trips to such villages for stealing cattle and other things. Various kinds of Dom exploitation are described in the following pages.

(1) *Land Encroachment* A wide gulf of difference is noticed between the amount of land the Kondhs own in the settlement records and their actual land holdings at present. In settlement records some Kondhs are found to possess more than twenty acres of land, and they are also paying land revenue accordingly, every year. But personal interview reveals the fact that most of their best plots of land have been taken away by Dom-Sahukars on mortgage, by force, or by any other unfair means. In some cases, the Doms have bribed the settlement people and made the records in their name, but in most cases the transfer land is an oral affair, i.e., a verbal contract between the owner of the land and the Sahukar. The land of the Kondhs are transferred to the ownership of the Doms in the following ways.

(a) When a Kondh borrows money from a Dom, the latter lends him money

with his own rice, but the Kondh has to pay the loan in terms of grains in the next harvest. The interest for such loans is almost one per cent. In case, the crop fails in the ensuing year and the debtor fails to pay off his loans, the Sahukar seizes some crops with much profit and sends his principal.

(b) In the long run, he uses resources in such a heavy amount that the Kondh is forced to surrender some of his paddy plots to the Sahukar on mortgage for ten to twenty years. The Sahukar takes a thumb impression from the Kondh in a madhouse in which he binds the Kondh by increasing the amount of loan actually advanced and by lengthening the actual period of mortgage. Being illiterate, the Kondh cannot know the treachery played by the Dom and he gives his thumb impression believing in the latter's honesty.

(c) Money and crops are also lent to the Kondhs on the condition of land mortgage. To meet the expenses of important life crises a Kondh is often forced to give one of his plots on mortgage for money or crops.

(d) Under such a hardship, a Kondh may find no way out except selling a piece of his land.

(e) A Kondh is at times provided with liquor by a Dom on communal occasions and when he returns is heavily drunk, the Dom takes a thumb impression from him regarding selling or, some land on false pretent.

(f) The land of a Kondh who dies without leaving any successor is often claimed by a Dom to be his land on the pretext that the deceased occurred

heavy loans of money from him and had mortgaged the land towards the loans. In such cases, the Dom shows false documents and cheats the relatives of the deceased.

(2) *Chasing in Barter and Marketing*—as Kondhs are not experts in marketing. Whenever a Kondh wants to sell his cattle he takes the help of a Dom who goes to the market with the cattle on the farmers' behalf and pays him the money. In some cases, the Doms may sell the cattle but do not care to pay the money to Kondhs in spite of the latter's frequent begging.

(3) A Dom may force a Kondh to give away his big bullock or buffalo in exchange for a small one. If the Kondh denies the Dom may threaten him of stealing away his cattle.

(4) After the harvest, the Doms visit Kondh villages with clothes and utensils for sale. They charge high prices for the things and take crops at big measures. Dom ladies also wander from village to village with dried-fish, molasses and other staples and sell these things for crops.

(5) *Demanding Crops after Harvest*—At the harvesting season, groups of Doms numbering ten to twenty move in the threshing-floor of the Kondhs and demand a major share of the harvest. They do not get satisfied with the amount given to them by the Kondhs on their own accord and always crave for bigger shares. If a Kondh declines to give so much of crop, the Doms may threaten him to steal his possessions. It is really a pitiable scene to see how a Kondh feels miserable amidst a group of Doms who demand more than half of his harvest.

(6) *Stealing crops, cattle and other valuables*—Very often, cattle are stolen from the Kondhs' cowsheds or are found missing in the forest. A little inquiry of the matter reveals that the Doms steal cattle and sell them in distant market places or slaughter for meat in the forest. Remains of meat, blood-stains on the earth, charred bone pieces, the slough and animal and ashes of the cooking fire are traced in secluded parts of the forest indicating the feasting ground of the Doms.

Cattle are also stolen away after giving prior notice to the owners. The Doms may demand some money, crops or a cow from a Kondh as gift. If the Kondh refuses to give anything the Doms threaten him and steal his cattle.

(7) *"Highway Robbery"*—The Doms are also not afraid of forcibly taking away things from Kondhs at broad day light. A Dom may ask for a cow or bullock from a Kondh and any refusal to this results in taking away the cattle from the Kondhs' cowshed, by force. Similarly, failing to persuade a Kondh to give paddy or other grains, a Dom might break in to his house and bring what crops the Kondh had in it.

(8) *Rape and Seduction*—A rape case collected during the investigation shows how a group of Doms raped a Kondh girl from her friends in a fair and plundered all her gold ornaments. The case was to the referred police-station, but in the meanwhile, the accused bribed the policeman. The policeman pleaded in favour of the Doms and threatened the girl's father for falsely accusing the Doms. The

get's father sold one of his buffaloes and paid Rs. 100 and a chicken to the policeman.

The type of exploitation in Kumbh-kosa area is different from the in Laximpur area. The tribals belonging to Laximpur are closer to educated people and are clever than those living in interior villages. Besides, there is a police-station in Laximpur which puts some check to reckless exploitation. Hence, cases of stealing cattle and crops and forcibly taking away things from the tribals are comparatively rare in this area. The chief type of exploitation here, is land encroachment by cutting trees.

Acquiring the land of the tribals is not so common in Kumbh-kosa area where the tribals are mainly shifting cultivation and they have a few or no engaged paddy plots to be mortgaged or sold. Hence, the "highway robbery" form of stealing things by force and oversteering is the chief method of exploitation here.

Methods applied for Exploiting Kumbh.

The Doms do not suddenly attack a village and plunder away the possessions like the robbers. Their method of exploiting the Kumbhs is a gradual process rather than a momentary phase of attack. In the beginning the uneducated and insignificant Kumbhs of a village are attacked. Since they do not have any voice in the village, they cannot influence or command their neighbours for any help. Even if the neighbours see a villager being robbed by Doms they get frightened and apprehending such attacks in future on them they shut

their doors and keep inside. A few of them might oppose in mild tone of protest but Doms pay no heed to it.

Besides keeping the insignificant persons in view as their target of attack, the Doms also try to please the important Kumbhs of the village by providing them with liquor on ceremonial occasions. By giving liquor to create temporary faith and friendly relations the Doms may use them as informants from the Kumbhs when they are in a state of drunkenness.

Why Kumbhs are the target of Exploitation

Why Kumbhs are the only targets for Doms exploitation requires a little knowledge of their personality structure. Simplicity of character, inaccessibility of the tract they inhabit, and their illiteracy make them docile and timid. Occupying the sterrenous parts of land and forests, the Kumbhs lead a life of their own which is free from complications of modern life. Since they do not come in frequent contact with the modern people, they have developed a strange fear towards them. Doms are the only non-tribals with whom the Kumbhs generally live. The ones are relieved to submit rough power and authority by a force of which they are convinced the Kumbhs to obey them. Such feeling has been so deep rooted in the mind of the Kumbhs from the time of the Raja's reign that it is difficult to root it out. The Raja's abused the power of Doms to collect taxes from the Kumbhs. In the days of British rule the converted Doms were getting ample support from the missionaries to defend themselves in spite of various

enhances committed by them. All these led to create a sense of mind in the Kondh who developed a massive fear towards the Doms.

The Kondhs are honest and just. They rarely doubt the activities of the Doms, in spite of the latter's treachery. They never make attempts to do positive harm to anybody even if they are provoked to do so. They are truthful in the sense that they do not tell lies and thereby make attempts to falsify the truth of a situation. The Doms, on the other hand, are very crooked. From their very childhood, the Dom boys are taught by their parents to live upon the fruits of others' labour. In a village one can find a Dom boy beating a group of Kondh children, but the latter having no courage to defend themselves. The Doms apprehend the danger of the spread of education among Kondh children. They thus give misleading ideas about modern education and persuade the Kondhs not to send their children to school.

The Kondhs have been the constant sufferers and have lost their courage of protesting against the capricious whims of the Doms. When a Kondh's cattle or crops are plundered by Dom, his neighbours do not like to proceed and pick up quarrel with the Dom, as it would irritate him and tempt him to repeat the work again in future.

They also do not run the risk of their life to fight with the Doms, who do not hesitate to go to the extent of murdering their rivals.

Remedy

As evident from the above descriptions, it is not an easy matter to save the Kondhs from the dangers they are facing in their daily life. To free them from various exploitations, sincere and prolonged attempts by honest workers are necessary. Education should be given supreme importance, because unless the Kondhs get education and unless they realise their own problems it is very difficult to weaken them. It is worth noting when they get educated they can better understand their difficulties and find out means to eradicate these by their own efforts.

In order to put a check on the various Dom exploitations drastic steps should be undertaken to punish the bone idle Dom culprits. They should be sent to separate colonies and kept under constant watching and supervision. An honest and shrewd man should be employed to supervise the various activities of these Doms.

Immediate measures should be undertaken to raise the poor economic standard of the Kondhs. Independence is a clog for their development. They inhabit the rocky mountain areas and live hand to mouth depending mainly on shifting cultivation. They have few or no patches of irrigated paddy plots planted near the stream beds, but a good number of such plots have been lawfully captured by the clever non-tribals. Shifting cultivation, the primary method of their agriculture, is not only a tedious affair but is the most unreliable as the harvest depends on timely rain and other favourable climatic conditions.

Constant crop failures or the scanty crops harvested from shifting cultivation hardly feed a Konds for the whole year. Besides, a Konds may require a lump sum of money and crops for marriage. To meet these demands he has to incur heavy loans and thereby run into indebtedness. Indebtedness consequently opens door for exploitation in forms of land encroachment, losing cattle and crops and engaging in Gort work, etc. To put a check to these problems immediate steps should be undertaken to bring back the lost land of the Konds from the ownership of the non-tribals. Loans of money paddy and other grains may be advanced to the Konds through the Grama Panchayats at

moderate rates of interest, to save them from paying unlimited amount to the local lenders. It is important to note that most of the Panchayat people are non-tribals, and they deliberately make delay in giving loan to the tribals, as this conflicts with their own interest. Strict steps should be undertaken to eradicate evils, from this level, and the Government may lend money or crops to the tribals by keeping their land in mortgage.

This matter should be given foremost consideration, because unless the Konds stand on a good economic footing and unless they are able to feed and clothe themselves properly it is very difficult to save them from exploitation.

The hill Saoras who are commonly known as Laxas Saoras and also Maon Saoras, constitute the most primitive section of the great Saora Tribe in Orissa. They are widely distributed in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput districts. In spite of sustained activities of the Christian missionaries during the last forty years or so, attempts of the Government to provide special provisions for their upliftment and occasional migrations as labourer or tea-gardeners in Assam, the hill Saoras have remained in a very primitive condition far away from the touch of modern civilization. Only a few of them have been converted to Christianity. The rest have retained their customs and practices intact. They speak a dialect belonging to the Mundari family of the Austro-asiatic languages and very few can speak any other language.

They are primarily shifting cultivators, although, wet cultivation is also resorted to in terraced fields whenever available. The hilly forests provide them with varieties of edible roots, fruits and animals for hunting

to supplement their dietary requirements. Liquor is obtained from the molasses and sago-palm trees. The petty traders belonging to Hindu community visit the Saora villages with the articles of daily use for barter.

Like many other primitive tribes they attribute the causes of natural calamities, diseases and unnatural deaths to the deities, dead ancestors and sorcery. The deities and the dead ancestors, who are supposed to be in search of food and drink in the underworld are watchful about the negligence and wrong-doings of the people and bring about diseases and other troubles. These diseases are believed to be caused spiritually and are treated spiritually according to established procedure of diagnosis and therapy. The ceremony of "Doripur" described here is one of the magic-religious rites for curing fever. In the month of April, 1953, this ceremony was celebrated in the village Jangapal of Champa Parachayat Samiti in Ganjam district. It is a typical Saora village surrounded by hills on all sides. There are altogether twenty families out of which seven families are Christian converts since 1935.

Diagnosis

Saka Menda of the village has two wives who are the sisters of a 60 villager. Lpa Saka by name. He has five children through them. Both the wives and all the children were suffering from fever one after another. On two previous occasions Saka had consulted the village shaman and sacrificed a fowl and a pig. Don-sa-mu (the god of the cattle garden who brings fever to the people) easily the youngest son of the junior wife suffered severely. This necessitated diagnosis by a shaman. On the ninth day of April 1963, the first wife requested the village shaman to diagnose the cause of the sickness.

The shaman, expressing his anxiety, required very seriously and sympathetically about the ailing persons and at once sat down for diagnosis with the help of a winnowing fan and the rice brought by Saka's wife. A wick was lighted. The shaman holding the wick, with his left hand rubbed the ground round and round with concentration to invoke his deities, ancestors and his tutelary to locate the agent of sickness and to determine the sacrifice required. Being possessed by his tutelary, his hand got stuck to the winnowing-fan and Saka's wife had to apply much strength to detach it. Then the shaman became the vehicle of his tutelary and informed that Don-sa-mu was responsible for the sickness. When enquired about the remedy, he readily prescribed his venereal sacrifice of a buffalo.

Ceremony

Saka, who arranged all the animals required for the rite. He consulted the Carang (the secular head of the

village and village elders and decided to perform the ceremony on the 30th April 1963.

Rite in the Courtyard—At about 8 A.M., the ceremony was started in front of Saka's house. A new earthen pot containing rice, salt, chicken and chick, a winnowing-fan containing three basketsful of rice (about two kilograms), a bowl, a bowl with arrows, a leaf-cup filled up with medicine, buffets and a leaf hat, were placed on the ground and two bamboo spits were placed in front of Saka's sitting place and visitors who were sitting in a row facing the shaman. Eight leaf-cups were then prepared and spread on the ground by the shaman.

The commencement of the ceremony was then marked by the beating of the drum by Saka, and recital of incantation and offering of wine to the leaf-cups by the shaman, his deities and ancestors. Then he threw rice to four directions and upon the patients. A wick was lighted. He put on the leaf hat, picked up the bow and arrow while calling the dead and deities began to dance to the accompaniment of beating of the drum. He picked up the buffets one by one on the tip of his arrow, shot them in four directions, three at the buffalo and shot at each person, after blowing upon the flame of the lamp. Then the shaman picked up the bamboo sticks and tossed them in the flame of the wick. While dancing he invoked Tu-tu-shan (servant of Don-sa-mu) to accept the ceremony as his present. He repeated the head of each nation for three times. Then holding the earthen pot containing chick, rice, salt and onion, he called on Don-sa-mu, saying

"I am offering you rice, salt, chills, etc. and going to sacrifice a buffalo to you. You take these and prepare your meal near a water source."

Then he moved the pot over the head of each patient with a prayer for their recovery.

Rice inside the House—After the conclusion of the rites in the courtyard, the shaman conducted another rite inside the house. Two lead cups containing rice, another cup with chills, salt and onion and a basketful of rice covered with a new cloth, were placed near the mortar. A wick was also lighted. In the meantime, the eldest son of Saku brought the hairy tip of the sacrificial buffalo and handed it over to the shaman. The shaman then stroked the deities and offered wine to them. Reciting spells he singed the tail of the buffalo. He mixed the ashes with rice and threw them upon the sick persons. The venue of the ceremony was then shifted to the outskirts of the village.

Rite the outskirts of the village—

At the entrance of the village, the shaman arranged his altar under a Mahua tree. Some women at a short distance were seen busy in preparing hearths and carrying water for cooking the feast, while several others sat down to stitch leaf-cups. Near the altar two women were engaged in cooking the food separately for the deities. Several young men gathered under another tree to kill the sacrificial animal, which was dragged to that place.

Sacrifice of buffalo and distribution of meat—Killing of buffalo by the Sacra is a pathetic sight to new

visitors. The mode of killing which I saw in several villages revealed the Sacra's knowledge in buffalo anatomy. With the blunt end of an axe a single blow was administered to the joint of the head and the vertebral column. The animal making pitiable noise crumpled down, and another person pierced the heart with a long sharp knife to let out blood. Although the animal was still gasping under such torture, one person cut down the horns with an axe and others started skinning. When the skinning was over, the blood discharged from the heart was collected in a pot.

A cup of blood, a front leg and the head were handed over to the shaman, who placed these near the altar. Two legs and one-third of the lung, heart and liver were taken by the owner. A small quantity of flesh and the rest of the lung, heart and liver were given for preparing the food for the deities and dead. One leg, the entrails and some strips of flesh were given for feasting at the spot. The remaining quantity of the buffalo's meat was distributed equitably among the families who contributed rice for the feast and participated in the ceremony.

Preparation of Food—Following items of food for the feast and for the worship were prepared separately:—

- (a) Rice and millet mixed together were boiled in water to prepare a porridge.
- (b) Flesh mixed with rice was boiled in water.
- (c) Some portions of lung, liver and heart mixed with rice-flour were boiled with blood and water.

(d) Flesh being added with salt, oil, and aromatic was boiled in water.

(e) Some portions of liver, lung and the heart were roasted in burning amber.

After cooking, there was the important task of cutting the boiled flesh into pieces for distribution.

The Rituals—In the meantime the shaman invoked the deities and the ancestors and offered wine and rice mixed with the blood of the buffalo. Then he himself began to beat the drum, slowly at first and then more rapidly and prayed the deities, especially to Doronmuun, to accept the food to bring health and happiness to the family and also to the village. While reciting spells, he poured water on the head of each patient. Different stems of cooked food were handed over to the shaman. After roasting the dead and the deities, he offered these stems along with . . . After this he himself took wine and went on calling the ancestors and the deities and passed into a trance. He became possessed by a number of deities and dead ancestors. The long conversation, which took place between the audience on the one hand and the shaman acting as the vehicle of the unseen powers on the other is briefly noted below.

Turkadoru, the servant of Doronmuun, came first and it was declared that he rubbed the forehead, neck, back, hands, legs and great toes of each patient. The earthen pot containing rice, onion, chili salt and flesh of the buffalo was offered to him. He wanted his stick, which was at

once given. Holding the stick with his right hand and keeping the pot on the head, the shaman acted as if walking with these materials for Doronmuun, his master. Then he was possessed by another servant of Doronmuun and informed about the arrival of his master. He asked for water to drink and went away.

After this Doronmuun himself came and demanded, 'Why you first gave me a fowl and then a pig but not a buffalo at the first instance? Do you know that I was in need of buffalo for my cultivation. When you did not comply with my demand for a buffalo, I attacked most of the members of the family.' To cool down his anger all persons, a pig by his wife flattered him, and offered wine with great care and devotion. Suku, the head of the family celebrating the rites, conveyed him the difficulties he had to undergo to get a buffalo on credit. When the buffalo was available, it was possible on his part to offer it to him. Doronmuun demanded cloth. When a cloth was handed over to him, he exclaimed, 'This is not a good cloth and you are giving me only one piece. What I will say when my daughter is . . . ask for one I take this back, and get two nice pieces immediately.' Suku immediately replied, 'I have given you a nice cloth, but you considered it to be bad. Please be satisfied with it. If you will come with me to my home and select . . .'

Doronmuun said, 'Very good. I am satisfied with it' and let me wear it. The shaman representing Doronmuun, got up and put on the cloth and sat down and said to Suku, 'I now promise

to give another buffalo. At the recovery of your wives and children" Suku replied: "Please help me to harvest a good crop so that I would be able to give one." Dorimung asked for wine which was at once given and went away. There was silence and everybody had some palm wine.

Then the shaman was visited by a series of ghosts one after another. Some of these ghosts came to take wine and food, some made fresh demands for sacrifices, some of them warned their relatives about their negligence, carelessness and breach of taboos. Most of them were persuaded to depart after taking wine. At last came the ghost of Indam, the late Gamang of the village and father of the present Gamang. He was offered wine immediately. After taking it he said "Oh, this palm wine is very bitter. I won't take it. Give me Mubua liquor. At once mubua-liquor was given to him. While drinking it he enquired about the welfare of the village. He asked why they had not made the clearing for the year. The Gamang who was sitting by his side told how everything was going on, excepting a few people suffering from disease. He asked his son to look into the welfare of the village. After taking wine he went away.

After this, the shaman rubbed his eyes as if waking from a heavy sleep. He stretched his arms and legs, spat on his hands and wiped his face and thus broke his trance and became normal. Once again, he sat down to invoke the deities and dead who were offered wine. He removed the mug worn by Suku's sick son and placed

it on the altar. While reciting incantations he sprinkled water over the patients. He then gave each share of offered food to each of the patients who were required to eat it there and then.

Distribution of Food. The different sorts of food prepared separately for offering, were distributed in a number of shares as follows. The Gamang, the Mandal (assistant to Gamang) and the Buyns (village officials) received ten shares each. The shaman (who is also the Buyns of the village) received ten shares of cooked food and a leg of the buffalo. The owner who is also the Mandal of the village got ten shares extra and the head of the buffalo besides his share of flesh taken earlier. All families who contributed rice for the feast received one share each. Then all who were present near the altar proceeded towards the cooking place to attend the feast. When the ceremonies were going on, several persons carefully distributed the festive meals into a number of leaf cups. In the presence of Gamang, the shares were distributed at the rate of one share for each member in the family. The rest were distributed among the persons present. Elderly persons got four shares each, while children were given only two shares each. The feast was concluded with drinking of wine at 2 P.M.

(Conclusion)

The most acute problem faced by the Langa Sarons, inhabiting the inhospitable Agency tracts, is disease. This has resulted in the development of an elaborate system of magico-

Sitaply The consequent ceremonies bring heavy pressure on the Saora economy. This is the root cause of their indebtedness and conversion to Christianity. They cannot go to hospitals to take medicine in case of illness, because of their fear of offending

visions and designs. However, their constant contact with the converted Sacras, who visit hospital for treatment, causes reactions in their minds. This provokes them to evade the responsibilities and misery by changing their G. I.

Sanakana. A village in the district of Balasore, Orissa, is situated half a mile north of Laxman Nath Road Station (S.E. Railway). It borders Orissa and West Bengal. It is a multi-caste village with a population of 347. The table furnished below shows the caste composition of the village.

Name of the caste	No. of households	Population
Rajb	31	166
Kasam	23	127
Qudis	5	29
Kaurs	2	9
Wacherman	3	16
Total	64	347

Sanakana has been subjected to the impact of external forces of change during the past thirty years. Proximity of Dantan town (in Midnapore district, West Bengal) with a good market,

development of communications, spread of education, introduction of Panchayat Raj, all played their part in producing changes in economic and social spheres of the village.

The purpose of this essay is to give a brief analytical description of the factions of the village. The informal and loosely organised groups in mutual opposition may be called as factions. The villagers refer to them as 'Parties'. Factions provide the field for acquiring prestige and influence by the leading villagers. These are most obvious during weddings, village rituals and in the decision of village disputes.

In every day life, the role of the factions is not significant. Members of the opposing factions mix freely, work for each other though the leaders of both groups do not talk to each other.

The village Sanakana is split into two opposing factions, one being traditional and the other of recent origin. Factions in this village are based on caste predominance. Sanakana, the

traditional leader belongs to Rajwade which forms majority in village population. He is illiterate but a shrewd village politician. He is a wealthy man well-known in the area as a money-lender. For his biased judgement he is invited by the people of other villages to help in compromising their complicated disputes. Being the leader of the village Panchayat he wishes all the village disputes in the village to be compromised. He, like the Panchayat Rajadam, intrusion but is not on cordial terms with the village Grama Panchayat member and the Sarpanch of Santa Grama Panchayat, under which the village Sasasani comes. He describes Baisurba, the Grama Panchayat member as a renowned blackmarketeer. He says, "being immoral what dealer he will preach in the village. He can demonstrate well on blackmarketeering business. He is a Chairman of the village Upper Primary School. The School building collapsed in the last cyclone. Does he try to repair it? What I was the Secretary of the school I took no help from anybody to thatch the house and to maintain the fence that surrounds the school compound. I have promised not to look to the school unless I am approached by the great Chairman."

Baisurba Mohanty, Grama Panchayat, ward member of the Santa Grama Panchayat, is another dominant personality in the village. His faction is known as Mohanty Group. He is literate and clever. His faction is composed of Karam, Gudia, Kusta and washermen but he is not able to influence any person from the Raju Group, which forms the opposing

faction. Baisurba a Karam by caste in actual practice he has done nothing except setting up a tube-well in the village, and that too near his own house. He does not like to tolerate the high-handed attitude of the traditional headman. He thinks to end the village cleavages through the Sarpanch.

Sasasani men are one dispute as the origin of the present factional alignment in the village. Gouranga a Karam youngman belonging to Mohanty Group had illicit love with the wife of Chandra Saha, a washerman in the village. On the occasion of Dussehra Gouranga also took some mess in the washerman's house. V. Nigam came to know about it. The headman wanted immediate retribution from him for breaking the caste taboo. A village Panchayat meeting was held and Gouranga was fined Rs. 10. His relation with Chandra's wife was not discussed in the meeting. One day Chandra found Gouranga with his wife. He burnt two heavy quarrels broke out between the two men. Chandra hit Gouranga severely. Two days later rushed to the scene and stopped the fight. The matter was referred to the headman who was not a party to the dispute. The ward member of the Grama Panchayat, wanted to report the case to the Panchayat Office. Finally the case was compromised in the village Panchayat. Chandra was boycotted for a fortnight. In the interests of preserving the caste superiority, the higher caste elders (including Karam) felt that severe punishment was necessary. It was declared that all the village people

should sever their social, economic and ritual connections with Chandra and his family.

In addition to this he was required to pay a fine of Rs. 50. The washerman argued that they could not pay the fine, if the village broke off economic and ritual relations with Chandra. Their appeal was unsuccessful. The fine was not paid and the villagers cut off all relations with Chandra and his family. Chandra faced difficulties to maintain his family. He was dependent mainly on his traditional occupation. He owned a little agricultural rice land. He started a laundry in Duttan town on share basis. He now earns more money by washing and ironing clothes for town customers than he could ever have earned by serving the villagers. In the absence of Chandra at home his wife continued to maintain close relationship with Gouranga. The matter was discussed by the brothers of Chandra. Before any action was taken Gouranga and Chandra's wife left the village.

One year passed and Chandra lost all hope to get back his wife. He wished to marry again. A bride was arranged by his father in a nearby village. The traditional faction under the leadership of the village headman refused to allow the wedding to take place in the village until Chandra had paid the fine owed to him last year. In such a critical situation Chandra approached the Panchayat, ward member (Bikuntha) for help. He assured to come to his rescue. He re-established economic relationship with Chandra and to celebrate the wedding peacefully, he took the help of police.

Although the case occurred a year back, to Santkarni it is still one of the most important disputes between the two factions. This is because it symbolises the faction leaders' actions in opposition to each others group. The Grama Panchayat member supported the washerman after the village Panchayat severed all economic and ritual relations with him. He says that he supported Chandra because he deserved sympathy and that there was no reason why Chandra's wedding should not have been held in the village. He regards this case as a welcome chance to show his supremacy in the village politics. He obviously wished to undermine the strong hold the headman had over the village.

Bikuntha to bring a permanent compromise between the two factions, approached the Sarpanch of Namit Grama Panchayat. The Sarpanch came to the village and asked the ward member to inform the villagers to meet him. Being aware of Sarpanch's coming to the village the headman along with his two other associates left the village. Most of the household heads from the Mohanji Group and a few from the headman's faction responded to the call of Sarpanch. Thus, Bikuntha's efforts were frustrated.

On another occasion the Mohanji Group wished to enact a drama in the village. Amateur actors came on request from other villages. Some of the amateur actors drank liquor in the back of the rehearsal house.

The matter was reported to the police by a member of the headman's faction. The police frequented the village and threatened the persons addicted to

igor. Rituals for the drama were suspended. The headman to strengthen his group seek the help of police.

The conflict between the two factions comes up on all major issues and in every major dispute, but it hardly affects day-to-day life in the village. The Midway Group employs a barment

from the headman's faction and the others who do vice versa. Independence also cuts across faction alignment. The headman is an important money-lender of the area. He is a shrewd and thrifty businessman. Marriage decisions cut across factional alignments. These factors ensure the bridging of the cleavage between the two factions in every day life.

AD(2A5)

The Sa-ara are a tribal community residing in the coastal districts of Orissa. They are supposed to form a part of the great Sahar tribe where the Saora belong. The Saora are a primitive tribe, chiefly residing in the forests and hills of the districts of Ganjam and Koraput. They have their distinctive language and culture and possess all the character marks of a primitive tribe. The Sa-ara on the other hand speak Oriya and are not unrecognisable from their Hindu neighbours. They wear a Hindu garb and have those functional relationships with the Hindu society which characterise a caste.

The present paper aims at an analysis of the bodily measurements and observations on the Sa-ara. The study was made by the author on one hundred and ten adult males selected from villages neighbouring Bhubaneswar (New Capital) in the Puri district, Orissa. The samples were collected from the following villages, namely Naspali, Bimpur, Rautelapur, Barasunda, Barapali and Ghatika. The observation was carried out from November to April 1962. The following anthropometric measurements and somatoscopic observations were registered.

Observations

Skin colour, form texture and quality of hair, beard and moustache, opening of eye-lids together with the presence or absence of epicanthic fold, extent to which the degree of development of supra-orbital ridges, depression of nose root and nature of nose bridge, degree of development of zygomatic arch, degree of thickness and nature of aversion of lips.

Measurements

The following anthropometric measurements were taken—maximum head length, maximum head breadth, maximum frontal diameter, maximum bi-zygomatic breadth, biconchal breadth, nasal height, nasal breadth, morphological facial length, stature, auricular head to pit.

The following indices have been worked out of the above measurements—Cephalic index, nasal index, length height index, breadth height index and facial index.

The measurements were strictly taken according to techniques developed by Walker. For indices Martin's classifications have been followed. However in this short paper it has not been

possible to give the classification of indices. Therefore, only the abstract of the analysis has been presented.

Analysis of the Somatoscopic Observations

Skin Colour.—The skin colour of each of the subjects has been observed on two different parts of the body, namely, on the ventral side of the upper arm and on the cheek. Observations are made mainly by eye appreciation. According to descriptive terms, the skin colour of the majority of people are lightbrown to brown-tawny both on the exposed and on the unexposed parts of the body. Very few cases of deeper shades are noticed.

Hair

(a) *Hair form*.—Regarding hair form 106(96.36 per cent) persons possess wavy hair. The remaining 3(2.73 per cent) and 1(0.90 per cent) have straight and wavy hair, respectively.

(b) *Texture*.—The texture of hair in majority of 98(99.09 per cent) cases is fine. Only 8(7.27 per cent), and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of med um and coarse hair were noticed.

(c) *Quantity*.—The quantity of hair in majority of cases 92(93.83 per cent) is medium. The rest 8(7.27 per cent) and 10(9.09 per cent) are scanty and thick, respectively.

Beard and Moustache

In majority of cases 80(72.63 per cent) have slight growth of beard and moustache. Only 26(23.63 per cent) cases of med um and 4(3.63 per cent) cases of thick facial hair were observed.

Eye

(a) *Nature of Eye-slit*.—Only 2(10.90 per cent) cases with oblique eye-slits were noted. All the other subjects had straight eye-slits.

(b) *Epicanthus*.—In majority of cases 94(87.43 per cent) no epicanthic fold in the eyes was found. The trace of epicanthic fold was noticed in 3(11.81 per cent) and moderate epicanthic fold in 3(2.73 per cent) cases.

(c) *Eyebrows*.—From the study it was found that 29 persons (26.36 per cent) have thin eyebrows and only 4 persons (3.63 per cent) have thick eyebrows. The remaining 77(77.00 per cent) are in between the two. Only 9(8.09 per cent) cases with connected eyebrows were noticed.

Supra-orbital ridges

Measuring the degree of the development of the supra-orbital ridges it was found that 37 persons (33.63 per cent) had pronounced type of supra-orbital ridges and 12 persons (9.90 per cent) had a slight trace of the ridge while rest of the subjects numbering 67(55.43 per cent) possessed moderate type of supra-orbital ridges.

Nose

(a) *Depression of nasal root*.—The frequencies of shallow and medium type of nasal depression are 17(15.63 per cent), and 48(44.09 per cent) respectively. Only 3 persons (4.34 per cent) possessed deep nasal depression.

(b) *Nasal Bridge*.—The majority of subjects numbering 53(46.26 per cent) possessed straight nasal bridge. And the frequency in case of concave,

convex and concavoconvex noses were 40 (39.0 per cent) 9 (8.18 per cent) and 5 (4.54 per cent) respectively.

Zygomatic arch

The marked zygomatic arch is noted in 63 (37.27 per cent) cases. The rest of the subjects possessed medium and straight zygomatic projections their number and percentage being 46 (36.36 per cent) and 7 (5.45 per cent) respectively.

Lips

(a) *Thickness*—The majority of subjects numbering 71 (64.54 per cent) possessed medium lips. The cases with thin and thick lips noted were 21 (18.1 per cent) and 53 (33.63 per cent) respectively.

(b) *Eversion*—Among the persons studied only 3 (2.72 per cent) cases with slight everted lips were observed.

Analysis of Anthropometric

Stature

Analyzing the measurements on stature it was noticed that majority of subjects (71.81 per cent) were between 50-163.9 centimetres in stature that is from short stature to just approaching medium stature. The average stature was found to be 161.81 ± 0.45 cm. The maximum being 177.8 cm. and the minimum 146.3 cm. The percentage of very short, medium, above medium, and tall were 7.27, 11, 81, 3.45 and 3.63, respectively.

Index

(a) *Cephalic Index*—The mean cephalic index was 76.18 ± 0.42 with the maximum of 81.6 and minimum of 69.8.

Dolichocephaly 44.54 per cent appeared to be predominant. Microcephaly occurred in the next highest percentage of (40.00 per cent). Brachycephaly and hyper-dolichocephaly are in the equal percentage of 3.72 per cent. The mean head length and breadth are 18.89 ± 0.04 and 4.8 ± 0.04 cm. metres, respectively. Head length and head breadth varies between 20.1 and 17.4 cm. 16.6 and 12.8 respectively.

(b) *Length-height Index*—The mean length-height index of head was 60.03 ± 0.27 , the average of variation being between 60.7 and 51.1. Hypocephaly (70.18 per cent) appeared to be predominant. The percentage of chamacephalic and orthocephalic elements were 3.63 and 18.18, respectively. The mean head-height was 11.98 ± 0.08 cm. the maximum being 14.8 cm. and the minimum 9.3 cm.

(c) *Breadth-height Index*—The mean breadth-height index was 88.65 ± 0.39 cm. with the maximum of 107.0 and minimum of 70.4. Acrocephaly (59.09 per cent) occurs as highest concentration. Tachycephaly and microcephaly were 20.00 per cent and 20.90 per cent, respectively.

(d) *Nasal Index*—The mean nasal index was 76.35 ± 0.38 with the maximum of 80.2 and the minimum 60.6. Mesorrhine occurred as the highest concentration at 30.90 per cent while the proven age of pygmyrhine was 47.27 per cent. Leptorrhine occurs in 1.81 cases only. No cases of hyper-leptorrhine were noticed. The mean nasal height and nasal breadth was 4.71 ± 0.03 and 3.89 ± 0.04 centimetres, respectively. The average of variation of the nasal height was

between 2.6 and 3.7 cm. whereas that of nasal breadth between 4.5 and 3.0 cm.

c) Total Facial Index—The mean total facial index was 77.82 \pm 0.60 the maximum being 105.6 and the minimum 72.8. It was noticed that the Mesoprosopic element was predominant (28.18 per cent) while both the Euryprosopic and Leptoprosopic elements were strongly present in order of frequency. The percentages were 26.36 and 27.27 per cent, respectively. The hyper-euryprosopic and hyper-leptoprosopic elements were low. The mean total facial length was 91.9 ± 0.04 cm. the maximum being 124 cm. and the minimum 9.9 cm. The mean bizygomatic breadth was 12.94 ± 0.04 cm. the maximum being 15.8 cm. and the minimum 11.2 cm.

Conclusions

It has been mentioned earlier that the Saoras of the coastal districts are supposed to be a part of the Saora. It is held that the former migrated to the coastal districts in the remote past and forgot their primitive language and culture in course of time. At present there is no cultural evidence in support of this hypothesis. We have therefore, to fall back upon the bodily measurements and observations to test this hypothesis. The data presented in this paper should be compared with equivalent data on representative samples from Saora. If this is done, scientific evidence can be produced for testing a hypothesis whose basis at present is conjectural.

An attempt is made in this paper to describe the changes that have affected the "Bauri" caste residing in the Bhubaneswar town in the district of Pur Orissa.

Materials for this paper were collected from the following Bauri wards located in Bhubaneswar town in the district of Puri, Orissa, such as - Garia Sali, Main Sali, Chemendi Sali, Huda Sali, Matha Sali, Mahamunda Sali, Nagrawar Sali, Kalkadevi Sali and Bangali Sali.

According to the census taken by the author the Bauris inhabiting these wards number 450 of whom 224 are male and 226 are female.

This paper intends to discuss the changing status of the caste during the period 1940-1962. To find out the changes in the different aspects 1940 has been taken as the base-line. This year was selected for the base-line as the forces of change began to emerge from this year. From 1947 after the construction of the State Capital, the pace of change became rapid. The internal and external forces of change and the agents through which they worked would be discussed towards the end of the paper.

For collecting data from the informants for this paper several methods were adopted. To know the status of these people in 1940 the old and experienced people were interviewed. Data for 1962 were collected through observation both participant and non-participant. To verify the results of the interviews checking and rechecking were made in course of analysis. The findings on a comparative basis for the period are presented below.

Bauri ward (Sali)

As a polluting caste the Bauri wards were situated at the outskirts of the clean-caste wards. Matha Sali was an exception to this rule because the Bauris of this ward were brought by the head (Mahanta) of the Math (monastery) from different villages to work in the paddy fields owned by the monastery and in the monastery used seasonal wages. They were given free house-plots in monastery compound. They had their separate wells in their wards, as they were not permitted to use the well of the clean-caste people. Huda Sali and Chemendi Sali had their own deities known as Dauda and "Chemenda" respectively. These deities were worshipped by a local

Bauri known as "Kahel" (Shaman priest). These deities were situated under banyan trees and were made of rough and unhewn stones, painted with vermilion. Each ward consisted of 8 to 10 (Mai Sahi and Hada Sahi 30) houses situated on both the sides of the ward road. The houses were made of wattle and daub and were built at the height of about seven feet. An outsider was not allowed to enter into the house. The ward roads were unmetalled and muddy. In rainy season the ward roads looked like drains. In all the houses the same room was used for various purposes like store, kitchen, bed, cow-shed etc. Each family had its own hanging loom (Dheeki) installed either at the front or back verandah. As the houses were without any windows. There was no regular road connecting the wards and the Bauris lived a life of isolation.

In 1962 the Bauri wards have assumed a new shape and is not considered as isolated and lonely. These wards are now surrounded by big buildings of the people coming from outside. These wards are now connected with good metalled roads with the other clean-caste wards. These roads have been constructed by the Public Works Department and Notified Area Council in the Bauri wards with the direct initiative of the ward members. In Gaur Sahi the ward road was installed by a Bauri youth who was paid all the expenses from the Notified Area Council. The new houses constructed in the wards are fully influenced by the pattern prevalent in New Capital. Though the roofs are still of thatch, floors have been cemented, walls whitewashed and rooms are with windows. I came across such

houses in Mahamada Sahi and Nagewas Sahi. The Bauris of Hada Sahi use the well of their clean-caste neighbours. The Bauris of Mai Sahi have dug a well getting money from the Notified Area Council in their ward. It is important to note that about 25 per cent of houses have removed from their houses the hanging loom. One will not find a loom hanging over in a newly constructed house.

Food and drink

The traditional food of the Bauris was very simple in 1940. It consisted of rice and curry, mainly prepared out of green leaves and Sare (Celastrus Taro) Water chest (Genda) and Kochu (a kind of snake bite fish) were also used in the curries if brought from the nearby ponds. Fish, dry fish and meat were a luxury to them and were served on special occasions. It is noteworthy to mention that they accompanied the local hunters as helpers (Paribanas) in the hunting expeditions. Generally meat was procured from hunting. They took their meals twice a day, the first meal early morning and the second early in the evening. Tea, liquor and Ganja, etc., were not used by these people.

The food and drink of the Bauris in 1962 have changed a lot in comparison to the base-line pattern. Vegetables like potato, brinjals, etc., dry fish and fish, etc., are served daily as dishes. They have been addicted to tea and Gurakho (a kind of narcotic). Each Bauri takes tea daily in the morning and in the evening. About 15 per cent of the Bauris drink tea throughout the day and this practice has compelled them to cut down their daily consumption of food. About 5 per cent of the youth, drink country liquor to get rid of the day's hard toil.

Compensation

Agriculture, labour and cart work-
ing were considered to be their tradi-
tional occupation. They were also
employed by clean-caste stone-quarry
owners as stone-cutters for which they
were paid daily wages. Besides these,
secular occupations the Barons of
Matba Sah, Bhangla Sah and Huda
Sah were employed in the Langany
temple. For this they were given tax-free
(Hiskari) houses plots and some re-
muneration. The temple duties
allotted to this caste group were as
follows.—

1 To cut the first tree on Samsawat
Puja a new axe from the mango-axe
(Bada Tota).

2 To repair of the road (Rathadanda)
for the temple car (Ratha) to pass on the
car festival day.

3 To serve as the break-man (Khara
dawalay) of the temple car. Old Haur
ladies were employed as 'Dhai' Nurses
to attend the expectant mothers. The
tables mentioned below lists the re-
muneration and wages, etc., in the
sacred and secular contexts.

Table showing the Remunerations for the sacred services (1940)

Sr. No.	Nature of duties	Remunerations
1	Cutting of the first log of the deity's car	4 annas in cash. A size amount of food offering. A new cloth each
2	Repair of the road of the car (Ratha).	4 annas per head
3	For acting as break-man	4 annas in cash and a new cloth.

Table showing the Remunerations for the secular services (1940)

1	Daily wages for cutting granite stones	6 annas to 8 annas
2	Daily wages for working as labourer (Male)	6 annas
3	Daily wages for working as labourer (Female)	4 annas
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Male)	2 annas and 2 measures of paddy
5	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Female)	2 annas and 2 measures of paddy
6	Remunerations for working as Nurse	Rs. 2 in cash and free food. A new Saree.

After the construction of the New Capital, now a Shabanowar and due to the growing need for labourers as wages going up than before. The need for more labourers and rise in the rate of daily wages were an economic cause of the Bannu. This condition is developmental as well as the national cause and the capital cause of the Bannu. This is the reason why separated by labour. Among the labourers wages are not rising as it is a national movement also involves the national struggle to raise the rate of wages of the Bannu. The labourers are not the only cause for the rise in wages the Bannu labourers were not the same work as the labourers of the capital and some rate of wages.

Two hour meetings have opened on static one in Gait beds and one over in Hagerman Sals on the road side close to their ward. These have been employed as flow & variants of the

Sales and General Government. One as a Vehicle Guard in the North-West Area Council and two as Police in the Government offices. The Baons are paying salaries in New Capetown. It is an exciting time for the Baons after the establishment of the New Capetown area council. New opportunities and money are being found. The director of the South African Police, Mr. Haggard, has just been started. Hand Police officers in New Capetown are now in the central police station and should be able to handle the work. The new police will be three Baons who are working in New Capetown under both of the old police. The altered system will be undergoing certain changes. Steps of the kind of the system of the old police will no longer be undertaken as it has been replaced by the North-West Area Council. The new, and smaller, system, done by the Baons, will be the one of the new system and will be the one of the new system in the future of the area.

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Sl. No.	Nature of Work	Remunerations
1	Lighting the fire and firing the temple chariot	Rs. 2 and 4 respectively
2	Acting as a driver	Do. do.

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1	Daily wages (carrying of bricks)	Rs. 4.00 Rs. 5.00
2	Daily wages for labour (masonry, masonry labour) (Male)	Rs. 1.00 Rs. 1.50
3	Daily wages for labour (masonry) (Female)	Rs. 1.00
4	Daily wages for agricultural labour (Male)	Rs. 2.00
5	Daily wages as Mason	Rs. 5.00
6	Remuneration for masonry masonry	Rs. 4.00 per day

Religious changes

The Baurs obeyed their traditional and ancestral custom in observing Sabha and their caste leaders like the Beters and the Bada Beters. The caste leaders were always respected and obeyed. All the disputes arising among them were solved by these leaders.

By 1962 new legislations passed by the Government rendered the caste-caste association obsolete with the introduction of Panchayat Raj, new type of leadership came in to being. The traditional leaders are no longer consulted. All the issues arising in the caste are now decided either by the Panchayat members or by the Civil Court. Cases are also decided by the influential class-caste people of the village.

Changes in Religious life

As a polluting caste they were not permitted to worship in the temples. The deities worshipped by the Baurs were worshipped by them and no Brahmin priests were engaged.

In 1962 it was been observed that the Baurs employed a Brahmin to worship their deity "Chamunda" and paid him Rs. 9 per annum for his services. On Mahashivratri Sankranti the Baurs in co-operation with the nearby class-caste people arrange the fire-working festival (Chama, Jatra) near their deities "Chamunda" and "Duladei". The Baurs freely entered into the compounds of Kapali, Pachauramwar and Mukteswar temples. They are fully aware of the rules passed by the Government to abolish untouchability

Other aspects of change

As discussed above changes in the social, political, economic and religious spheres are noteworthy. After the establishment of the New Capital of the State at Bhopal new changes have come up rapidly. Economic development, as described earlier, brought about changes in the other spheres. The large demand in labour for the construction of the State Capital opened new avenues of earning. The daily wages went up. The increases in earnings have affected their day-to-day life and material culture. The Baurs women now use gold and silver ornaments in preference to the red iron brass ornaments. They no longer use the earthen pitchers to fetch water. These have been replaced by buckets and hot-metal jugs. Those who work in New Capital under the building contractors use cosmetics and coloured oil. New items like wrist watches and bicycles have been included in the marriage dowries. The Baurs women now are ashamed to use the handspinning and depend mostly on the rice mills of the town. Prostitution has become common among the women folk, specially those who work in the capital area. Use of contraceptives has furthered this practice. Reservation of seats in the Panchayat Area Council election and the other Governmental measures for the upliftment of this group have brought a new type of leadership among them. The caste leaders have lost their hold on the society. Cases arising among the caste are now decided by the class-caste people and this shows the gradual decline of the traditional caste association. Multiple means of independent livelihood is also responsible for the gradual decline of

civic solidarity. Changes in dress have bridged the gulf between them into other clean-castes. The services of the washerman and the barber stand as in the New Capital, are now available to them. In New Capital the Bains freely take tea and coffee equally with the other people in the hotels and restaurants. People do not hesitate to take tea in the shops opened by the Bains or Brahmines.

The old town of Shubashnagar is a traditional religious centre whose internal dynamics were too feeble to bring about any appreciable change in the status of any caste. The establishment

of the modern town of the New Capital has swept off the traditional social and economic pattern. The religious tabus however still persist in a superficial way.

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The Saora house is a thatched hut small in size with earthen walls and pillars, posts, beams and rafters of joined timber. The door frame is also of the same material and the door-lid except in the case of a prosperous Saora, is of sliced bamboo woven together. The pitch of the house is generally high enough to allow for drainage but houses with low pitch are not rare to see.

The verandah is kept clean and neat and it is in great use. Paddy and other grains are husked there. Grains are sorted before they are taken to the kitchen. Such ropes are twisted there and mats with date leaves are woven here. The men and women sit there for a chat during spare time smoking. The men sleep on the verandah during the summer season. It is the sick room during the day and close to it on the village street the new born baby has its bath daily twice for a month. The house-wife and the girls of the house plaster it frequently with mud and keep it always neat and clean.

The door-lid has a peculiar contrivance which answers the purpose of locking. The contrivance is common and even though every house has it there is no fear of theft and house-breaking. There is a hole in the top centre of the door frame through which the hand is thrust in and a bolt fixed in the inner side is pulled into position to prevent the door from opening from outside. While opening, the bolt is moved to a side and the door opens. The bolt is a piece of wood about 6' long. Where the family can afford it, a lock is put

on the door which has no staple and chain. The houses of the Gomaag, Bhoja and the Bedoia have invariably locking arrangements with chain and staple.

The main room is a small passage like room. It is carved out by partitioning a room into the living room and the kitchen. There is a partition between these two and generally wooden posts fixed in the ground form the partition. It is mud plastered in the majority of cases and is about 3' high. There is a shelf like arrangement made of wooden planks placed lengthwise across a number of posts throughout the length of the room. The hearth or fire place in the kitchen has a continuous fire burning and one sees a few pots and a number of bitter gourd "lolas" in the kitchen.

The floor of this main room has two holes at which the girls of the house pound corn or husk it in the morning even before it is light, for the breakfast of the family. The husking is done by a cylindrical wooden piece about 3' in length and 4" in diameter. The women and it used for adding weight in the pounder while the thresher and with an iron hand round it is used in husking. The girl wields it squarely and makes a sharp humming sound when the blow lands on the grain. There is yet another contrivance for husking. It is a wooden Chalk, two circular slabs of hard wood each about 6' thick. The upper slab is held in position by a small wooden spike or projection fixed in the slab below. The grain is pushed in a cavity in the upper slab and then the slab is moved round and round. There is, in fact, just a

l'Asir as the oil. A bar of hard wood and prepared by the Soars burned. The Soars is not a money-changer and has to meet his needs in the above manner.

A portion of the main room along side the rear wall is the place where drinking water and water for the kitchen is kept. Wooden posts of a height of 2 to 4 are driven into the floor. There is a plank deck up over these posts over which the water is kept in earthen pots. Rarely brass dishes are used and whether it is of brass or of earth, the pot is kept scrupulously clean. Just a few feet above the pots are kept the Ganesha, Denth of the house. These are the family Gods and are kept in earthen pots of metal, etc. These contain drawings or effigies of the Gods and they are the indoor Gods of the Soars.

At the very entrance of the main room a bamboo bany breadbasket suspended from the rafters. Slung from this bamboo one sees the halters of the cattle, the "make noiser" of the goats, the plough ropes, etc. Whenever the man is sick he has a packet of elephant dung strung from this bamboo. Pieces of dried buffalo flesh are also to be seen so slung. The bows and arrows are stuck in the back of the roof within reach. The gobas, the sickle, the barn, the knife are a stick into the roof. The "Powder flask" usually a buffalo horn with a metal cap is also here. Spare gobas handles are either slung from a bamboo rafters or are stuck into the roof. Fibres collected from the forest and for twisting rope are also there.

Towards the centre of this main room are suspended the seed grains of the Soars. Seed maize and seeds of

asparagus beans, pumpkin, etc are tied in leaf pockets and suspended. On top of these seed grains are some spare dry and hollowed gourds for use as pitchers for keeping or fetching water or as handlids for serving cooked food.

On a second floor formed by the deck up over the fire place there is the granary of the Soars. The grains are kept in big split bamboo receptacles. There as well as all other items in the two rooms are stored in a shining dark brown cement. The loads of the family are driven into a trap-like convenience in the space below the water space. Goats, if any, are tied along with the cattle. The cattle shed is either a separate hut or an extension in the back of the house accessible from outside.

There are no plates and cups in use and no metal plates or dishes. Leaf cups, gourd, known as Dora, serve the purpose. The living room which is the main room accommodates all the members of the family during the rains and winter. There are no pots except a dog and the dog sleeps in the house or on the verandah or in the cattle shed. The house of the Soars does not require to be spacious. He has few wants. He tries for the day or at best for the morrow. The vegetables fetched from the Bogodo, the corn and grain as harvested all go straight in the kitchen. The produce of the Bogodo is stored of daily requirements is kept either green or dry for sale to the peddlars who come with salt, tobacco, etc. to the Bogodo for barter. The house with the cattle is to be called a "Hoah's Arc

THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND JUDICIAL MACHINERY OF THE CHELTAR KUSAVAN AND THE PALLAN OF VILUPURAM

Introduction

"Social control and caste go together", holds Praised (1937: 243). Every caste in India has a standing council to regulate the conduct and guide the morals of its members. Its smooth functioning maintains social conformity and coherence within the caste. Conformity to the norm "is either voluntary or else it results from the pressure of sanctions." Wilson, 1937: 17), because the individual and the social order are parts of one system of life. Bogardus finds that the "group control and personal initiative are two poles of social life. Both must be constant in their operation if society is to function smoothly (1934: 266). In caste are, as Kimball Young asserts, "to bring about conformity, solidarity, and continuity of a particular group or society" (Young, 1942: 43).

Within the purview of this paper we shall be discussing the nature of authority structure in, and the mode of social control of the Cheltar Kusavan and the Pallan living in the Villupuram Taluk of South Arcot district in Madras State along with similar case situations from both the caste: the former is an artisan caste (Potter) belonging to the clean Sutra group of the Hindu social

order and the latter is an untouchable caste.

The Cheltar Kusavan constitute a *de jure* endogamous sub-caste of the Tamil potter who are identified with Sraman sect. The Cheltar Kusavan and the Pallan living within Villupuram Taluk form *de facto* endogamous units within their respective cultural spheres. The former are spread over in eleven villages and the latter are found in sixteen villages within a radius of about twenty-five miles. The population of the Cheltar Kusavan and that of the Pallan is roughly seven-hundred, and three thousand respectively. They constitute, within their respective domains, effective units of action and manage their respective caste affairs independent of their counterparts living beyond the limits of Maamanchandir Taluk. The members of the group refer to each other as *Kul Sahasabangarar* or caste-brothers. They form into, in their respective social and cultural spheres, effective community and status units. This effective group "can be called the

1. Citation 1961: 227 "The term 'untouchable' for the Hindu caste hierarchy known as *Untouchables* is a phrase suggested by a census superintendent. It was not only adopted in 1901, but in the same year agency alternative to the unfortunate and depressing label 'Depressed Classes' (1961: 228). Based on the Census of India, 1931

Kindred¹ of recognition. This is the population within which marriages are made and/or kin links can be traced through mutual kin. (Mayer, 1960:4)

Social Organization

Structurally the Chettiar Kuzman and the Pallar are very much alike: the members of the same caste living in different villages, within the Taluk, have a kin as common.

The basic social group among these castes is the *paṭṭa* (patril) and *matril* family called *Kichomba* and an individual is identified with it. But the *Kichomba* in several cases is divided from either, the *Sennapper* or elementary families are the potential divisions inside it. The larger consanguineal kin group is *kul* or lineage, where common relationship of genealogical links between consanguineal kinmen could be traced, but not beyond it. But on the other hand the *kul* is also a compromised kin group which excludes the *salu* female consanguineal kinmen and includes the spouses of those.

2. Mayer 1960a, 'The kindred of recognition', in the instances I have recorded, is the same consanguineal kin group of some enough people. (1960a) 'The search for kinship', as I have said, people do not like to marry into the unknown.

Marshall, 1956b, 'that recent labor and the residential collaboration of husband and wife preclude the realization of a different consanguineal kin group in its entirety under any rule of residence. This can be approximated only by combining a separate rule of residence with a consistent unilateral rule of descent and affecting a compromise whereby some affinal relatives are included and some consanguineal kinmen excluded.'

2. Kave 1951:16 'If two women are married into one family their children will belong to the same paternal class, and no marriage is prohibited.

of the opposite sex. The enlarged exogamous unit is *paṭṭam* or *mat* which is composed of several compromise kin groups. Among the Chettiar *Kuzman* of Mannachakkal there are eight such exogamous *paṭṭam* or *mat* *vaṭṭam*, *paṭṭam*, *Kudam*, *cherry*, *mapalicherry*, *chade*, *cherry*, *chinnacherry* and *chinnacherry* and among the *Pallar* there are seven such *paṭṭam*, *amudiy*, *perugundam*, *saligundam*, *Kudam*, *saligam*, *Kudam*, *saligam*, *saligam* and *saligam*. Although *paṭṭam* regulates exogamous marriages between agnates where the kinship is of hypothetical nature, there are also rules of consanguinity which govern marriages between affines. Among the well-known degree bilateral cross-cousins are potential mates, and the daughter of an older uncle is also considered as a preferred marriage mate whereas children of two uncles cannot marry.

Excepting these, marriage with all patrilineal kinmen as well as with a matrilineal kin up to within the fourth degree of relationship is forbidden. Monogamous marriage is the usual practice but there are a few cases of bigamy among both the Chettiar *Kuzman* as well as the *Pallar*. Such cases are only found with the older generations. The present trend is to denounce and discourage such practices. Levirate (senior) and sororate (junior) marriages are practiced under admissible circumstances. No case of levirate has presently been found either among the *Kuzman* or among the *Pallar* but there are three established cases of sororate among the former and five among the latter. And obviously all these sororates have not resulted on the demise of previous wives. Rajaratnam (a Chettiar *Kuzman*)

in Ayakkol village has married the younger sister of his wife since the latter failed to bear a child. Apart from this there has been a case of two sisters' brothers (Santiambham and Sreenivas of Chettiar Kinarwan caste) marrying two such women, and perhaps the possibility of such marriages may have resulted in the prevalence against the marriage of maternal parallel cousins.¹ Instances of divorce, even as in joint quarrel and disagreements and widow marriages are there among the Pallars only. And among Chettiar Kinarwan cases of divorce of widow marriage have not occurred within last fifteen years as a result of their changing value system.

The average marriage-age among both the castes, of a girl is at or slightly after puberty, of boys about five or six years later the puberty. Marriages are arranged and aligned on the basis of negotiations on parental level subject to the acquiescence of Kudi members and the Panchajanyanam or caste council, respectively.

Economic structure

By vocation the Chettiar Kinarwan are artisans, namely potters and the Pallars are a sort of agricultural labourers. The division of labour among the former is pursuant of their craft, makes their income a result of joint-effort. Their vocational co-operation and interdependence are not only confined to family level, they are also found on communal level. For instance, taking lease of water-logged lands, or exploring suitable clay for brick making, commonly and through a Kudi co-operatively. Mutual co-operation is not sought for the sake of economy only, it becomes imperative to increase the efficiency of the craft. In contrast to this,

the Pallars have a type of subsistence which confers on them a lot of individuality and personal economic independence. All adult members irrespective of sex, go out in the morning for wage-earning and return home after the day's toil with their individual remuneration in either terms of cash or coin, some also receive their payments on weekly and or monthly basis. Womenfolk of the Chettiar Kinarwan usually confine to the domestic and their children assist the elder members in their craft. Among the Pallars, by and of the grown up children is mainly to look after the youngsters when the elder members of a family are out for work.

The household is run and its family budget is controlled by womenfolk in both the castes.

Authority structure and the familial machinery of Chettiar Kinarwan and Pallars

The mode of social control and the authority structure among both the castes are quite similar. Hence, our analysis of them will be in a two-maner.

Illustrative diagram of the authority structure

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Pariyavar
(Caste headman) | Panchajanyanam |
| 2. Chinnavar
(Deputy headman) | Members of the
Panchajanyanam = Caste
Council |
| 3. Kudi-talavayars (Kudi
heads) | |
| 4. Kudi-talavayars
(house head) | |
| 5. Kudi-talavayars
(Head of an extended family) | |

The general authority structure is hierarchical—ranging from head of a family at the bottom to the headman of the caste at the top. Everyone of them has got his own duties and obligations to the caste. The responsibilities pertaining to a caste matters are not vested in any single man rather they are infused deeply in corporate body called *Panchayat-kotam* or caste-council, which is composed of a *pariyavar* or caste headman, a *chinnigar* or deputy headman and all the *gavara-sastryavars* or sib-heads of the caste. It functions as a unit and its jurisdiction encompasses the entire collective group: the physical extension of which is coextensive with the boundaries of *Mamachanalar Taluk*. The *Kia Yatsayavar* or lineage heads and the *Kudumba-Yatsavars* or family heads are not included in the caste council but attend its sessions whenever they are required to do so; they function outside but in subservience to it.

In the following section, we shall discuss here in detail the structure and function of each office of authority and that of the caste council later.

The *Pariyavar* or caste headman is a pivotal figure in the caste structure. The status and prestige a headman enjoys, depends much upon his personal integrity and capabilities. For instance, Narayan, the Kadar caste headman, enjoys a position of great influence; he wields such an influence mainly due to his immaculate character and dynamic personality; he is not only strict and firm in caste matters but also equally considerate and helpful to his castemen. On the other hand, Narthaman, the Pollex caste headman enjoys less prestige among

his castemen. He is held in scorn for his vacillating and indecisive nature.

Succession to the office of the caste headman is usually hereditary on the principle of male primogeniture. If a successor has not attained maturity at the death of his father and is consequently not in a position to take over the responsibility, on behalf of him the deputy caste headman may exercise the *de facto* authority provided the latter is commissioned to do so by the castemen. In the absence of a male heir to succeed, the office passes on to the nearest male collateral kin and, if a suitable candidate is not available within the range, the privilege may be extended to any other range or to any other sub. If the situation comes to that but with a candidate not identified in a her range within the generations, a headman is liable to forfeit his office, should he deprecate and disgrace his position by proving himself corrupt and utterly inefficient. I has never been possible to oust a headman from his Office in either caste although a selection is there. Mr. Poller reformers (Jogiraj and Satharaj) told me that some seven years ago there was a move to strip off Narthaman, the headman, of his honour by some of the castemen, but the move demagogically failed because quite a large number of the castemen opposed it, mainly from the point of view of maintaining a precedent. However, Narthaman was reprimanded and let out by the castemen in a general meeting. Anti-public opinion and the apprehension of repercussions serve as checks and balances on the activities of the caste headman. Anyway the

authority of the headman is not imposed from any extraneous source obviously it emerges from within the caste for the cause of safeguarding its interests from any sort of decadence or cultural jeopardy.

The headman has had both sacred and secular functions. His sacred functions are man told he worships the caste tutelary deities and acts as family priest for all his customers. He conducts all the marriage and girls pubescent ceremonies within the caste. He officiates at the marriage rites of his customers also. Now he also conducts the rectification and reformatory rites in the accused persons of the caste with a view to averting further incidence of breach of the caste norms and simultaneously conducting the one that has been committed. And moreover, he acts the first moral at all facets of the caste group, be it marriage or obsequies, with the view to blot out the ominous qualities they may have involved in the deed.

His secular functions are equally important in nature, for he is the *de facto* custodian of the caste norms. He is the epitome of the wisdom machinery of the caste group. He is consulted and his advice is sought in regard to all matrimonial affairs of both sexes within the group, be it monogamous, or polygamous in any form and resulting out of any type of circumstance. It is he who fixes the date for and convenes the council meetings. He invariably presides over the council meetings and first initiates the debate and deliberations in it, by giving a short account of the matters to be discussed. He virtually dominates the scene and the opinion he holds as a matter is most

often accepted. He is the treasurer of the caste fund, which accrues either from gifts or from subscriptions.

The office of the deputy caste headman is filled by nomination at a general meeting of the caste group. At times a son, if found suitable, who succeeds his father on the latter's death. A deputy caste headman can be removed from his office if censured on bad conduct. Always a competent government-employee or sub-headman holds the office of the deputy caste headman. His main function is to act as an assistant or errand-boy to the headman of the caste group. Usually he carries the message from the headman to any member of the group, he also does the job of sending invitation to all the members of the group through different sub-heads in the event of any communal gathering. He presides over the council meetings in the absence of the caste headman and does discharge the latter's sacred duties as well if asked to do so by the headman. Moreover he maintains the account of caste funds. The office of the Government-employee or sub-headman is invariably sacrificed to the senior official male member of the group or sub. It is just like people or an errand, for on the death of a sub-headman his next senior most member of the sub steps in to the former's post. Hence, the status he sub-headman enjoys is an inherited one, because one's incapacities are not hindrance to his succession. He is treated with courtesy and respect. He functions as a member of the caste-council and reports to the caste headman if any of his sub-fellow deliberately fails to fulfil the terms of his obligations to the caste or brings dishonour to it.

in any manner. He may intervene in and resolve the interlineage disputes, if there is any.

The role of the *Ku* *talayawar* or the head of a lineage group is undoubtedly very significant. He is the patriarch of his lineage group by virtue of his seniority. In age, he is head of his age group and his words are more valued. His hegemony over the lineage group is considered benevolent; he is a consultant in dispute and difficulty and a pump and pleasure too. His constant vigilance over the lineage group does not allow any scope for any member to stray from the traditional ways of life. He may effectively mediate in and resolve the inter-family and intra-family quarrels, especially those arise too often between the affines and the spouses. At times, he not only vehemently scolds but also inflicts corporal punishments on the young boys and girls of the agnatic group who resort to easy virtue. Similarly if a man or woman is found guilty of any extra-marital sex union, besides will have to bear all the ordeals that may be inflicted upon by the *Ku* *Talayawar*.

His opinion is seldom ignored, because social censure is inevitable for one who does so. And if anybody behaves arrogantly with him, the latter may refuse to participate in all his socio-religious ceremonies.

He is the head of an extended family or the *Kudumba talayawar* who occupies the most significant position within the effective caste group among all other caste-heads, that we have discussed so far. Although it has become a common feature, now-a-days, of the sons to get separated from their parents sometime after their marriage

and start their respective proprietary families, but for all purposes they maintain close connections with their families of origin and, and his sort of intimate affiliation between the families of inheritance and parentage continues until the death of the father. And after the death of the father the eldest of all the brothers takes the position of the former hence the *Kudumba talayawar* is the head of several family units which together constitute his extended family or allied families. In a wider sense family may include another category of near kin who are one degree removed from the direct-affiliation families (Dube, 1955, 35). It is incumbent upon the members of several family units, according to tradition to show their obedience to him. He plays an authoritarian role in the domestic sphere and is considerably responsible for the socialisation of the young in the line of the traditional culture pattern. He is the socio-religious and economic councillor of the group comprising the members of the paternal side. He dedicates the girls and accords brides for the men of his group's marriage. He makes the annual offerings to the deities. He is answerable to the caste for the members of his lineage group in the event of any breach of the caste law.

The *Panchayathawar* or the caste council is the peremptory corporate authority which has the prerogative to punish any default or with a particular to the point of ostracism. It deals with offences relating to forbidden commensality, prohibitions on inter-caste or any other socio-religious matter that runs counter to the caste norms. The caste codes never have

their respective codes of conduct prohibit ing or even ingestations, for instance, both *Chetiv* *hustons* as well as *Palans* prohibit acceptance of food and drink from all castes which rank lower than their own prescribe acceptance of cooked food from the caste below and on a par with them and permit acceptance of food as well as drink from the caste but are higher or the same order. And both the codes forbid adultery and the prohibitive degree of a woman and equally condemns adultery, fornication, seduction and venereal syphilis. The other types of cases that come before the council are refusal by a party to fulfil a marriage promise which has already been settled, considerable protestation or refusal to send a girl to her husband's place by the father or any other guardian of the girl, ill-treatment of wife, divorce, acquiring a second wife and refusal to give due share of the property to a brother or to any other claimant. And a other cases relating to the breach of any caste norm hitherto in vogue for instance, abusing any caste as heretic or persistence of a non-vocational contrary to caste norms among the *Palans* it is strictly forbidden for any *Palans* to remove the carcass of other castes, however higher may be, are duly considered.

The nature of punishments varies from case to case and is left to the discretion on which the *Chetiv* *Kurans* is awarded an outright punishment of economic exclusion of the defaulter or the *Palans* at the discretion on caste the defaulter temporarily and then on upon him/her to perform an expiatory and deterrent ceremony and then re-integrate him/her with

the caste hereafter. Thus we shall discuss later. But the usual punishments awarded by the council are (1) fines, (2) fests to be given to the castes (3) corporal punishment and (4) sometimes religious rites.

As regards the nature of jurisdiction of the *Palans* there is a noticeable shift between the past and the present. The past independence organization is the very nature of the shift. Previously, the fines that collected used to be spent on communal feast or were being equally distributed among all the sub-groups of castes. Their respective members to alcoholic drinks. But presently the amount is only expended on constructive purposes, such as, purchase of brass and copper cooking vessels, carpets and petticoats to be used by castes. And clothes bought out of this fund are also supplied to poor and deserving castes (especially widows).

The shrine of god *Ayyanar* at *Ayyanar* is the usual venue of the *Rupras* caste council, whereas, the venue of the *Palans* caste council is a *Tiruvai* *Kouptu*. But, the venue normally shift to any other place according to convenience. But, when they discuss cases regarding gross breach of caste norms necessitating incorporation on coming, they do conduct the business of the council only at, and upon the traditional, *Andal* *Kouptu*.

The members of the *Rupras* caste council usually sit on mattresses laid on the floor or coarse carpets, because they believe that such beds are only provided to respectable persons. The *Palans* use ordinary mats. The

plaintiff the defendant and all others present, among both the castes, are supposed to sit on the ground. When a meeting of the council is in progress the members are served with betel leaves processed lime and areca-nuts. At times they are also supplied with tea. The expenditure is either met with from the caste fund or defrayed by the person who has urged the meeting of the council, or the expenditure is shared by both the plaintiff and the defendant. The proceedings of the council are not recorded only the amount of the caste fund is mentioned now & then.

The decision of the council is final and unquestionable. There is no appellate body which can revoke, reverse or commute the judgment passed by the council. But, at times, it happens that the aggrieved approaches some local prominent men or other castes with the view that they will influence some of his (aggrieved's) caste council members for annulment of the punishment. But this sort of obnoxious moves do not succeed, because, a member who succumbs to such an influence could seldom wear away other members of the council share his point of view. Sometimes such an attempt is detrimental for one who resorts to it, because when the matter gets publicised, the council takes serious view of such moves and overhauls the punishment thereon.

Eventually, the caste council is the august prerogative body of the caste which only is vested with the authority to modify or to do away with certain caste practices, which are considered as wrong and which change in time is deemed fit by it, and becomes imper-

ative to keep pace with the dynamic world. For instance, after independence the Pottars have adopted a resolution upholding socialism and vegetarianism on marriage and on such other social functions, which were hitherto regarded as essential terms. And, both the Chamar Kachari as well as the Pottars have strictly warned their respective customers and women not to have anything to do with them in the event of an aberration between themselves. These moves are currently attended as enhancing their respective caste positions, but these moves are consequent upon a new consciousness of the society after independence. However it is the post-independent regeneration that has lent a fillip to the new approach.

Apart from the caste council, there is a village committee in every village which is composed of all the castes living in the village. The headman of the village is invariably an upper caste man. The village committee is just an agreed forum of several castes to discuss matters of common concern and to resolve their disputes if there are any. This ensures the maintenance of good neighbourly relations between different caste groups living in the village. Cases relating to payment of compensation for the damage of standing crops, repayment of loans and quarrels, especially where the protagonists are men of different castes, are referred to the village committee. The committee normally arbitrates in the disputes and rarely it pronounces any judgement. In the deliberation only the elder member representatives of different caste groups living in the village participate.

(To be continued)

In the Orao belief system the 'Pahar' is considered as a man in whom the divinity is incarnated. He is considered as a being superior to man. The divine powers become vicarious in him for longer or shorter periods. The practitioners of different varieties of magic on the other hand are considered as ordinary human beings, though possessed of an unusually high degree of powers. This type of magician draws his extraordinary powers from a certain psychical sympathy with nature. His whole being, body and soul is in harmony with the world forces. They are called by several names like *Mah*, *Sokha*, *Shaman*, etc., and function as Oracles and witchcraft practitioners. It is presumed that the magical art is generally employed for the benefit either of individuals or of the whole community. A few magical agencies like the witch or witchdoctor practice black-magic which is directed to cause disease, death, destruction and ill-luck. The Witchcraft practitioners and oracles are supposed to practice white-magic with the view to do good to the people. There is a well regulated native organisation where the Oracular activities are learnt. The purpose of this paper

is to give a description of the Oracular activities among the Oraohs.

Evans Prechard in his book *Witchcraft among the Azande* (Page 9) defines oracle as the "techniques which are supposed to reveal what cannot be discovered at all, or cannot be demonstrated for certain, by experiment and logical inference therefrom". Further he states that they are regarded by the people as the most reliable means of ascertaining the future, and of hidden things, and he remarks that they are witchcraft. The intrinsic meaning of Oracle is "an opinion deemed infallible". The function of the oracle is to search out the hidden or lost things. Even he can say the place where the stolen things are kept secretly. He can trace out the criminal and at the same time the things stolen by the criminal. If a man loses some money, cattle or ornaments, etc., he approaches the oracle, who can easily tell the whereabouts of the things. Even if a lost thing is lying in a tank, the instrument which he uses for tracing out must come near the tank and stop there. This would indicate that the thing is inside the tank. However in order to find

out the hidden things some magical performances are done and at the same time some rituals are observed.

Training of the Guru

A man desirous to know the oracular activities approaches a 'Guru' who should be an experienced Oracle. The Guru finally selects a day when the disciple comes with two rupees to take the course. The goddess 'Kallima' is seated on an altar (Badi) prepared by the Guru beforehand. The disciple is expected to bring various Puja accessories, such as dhup (incense stick), 'dhyan' incense powder, dhup grass, Gulab (Merry gold flower) and a white chicken. When the puja materials are arranged, the Guru and the disciple sit facing each other before Kallima. The 'Guru' catches the hand of the disciple and whispers some incantation in the ear of the disciple. The latter, too, mutters the same spells repeatedly. Thus the byants are obtained by repeated utterances. After one hour or so, the Guru starts worshipping Kallima with the Puja accessories. At the end of the Puja, the white chicken is sacrificed and the blood is sprinkled over both the stone image of the goddess and the disciple. The blood is believed to be the blessing water and helps to attain the 'Badi'. After the puja, the Guru tells his disciple various magical processes of 'finding out things one after the other and finally hands over all the spells writing them on a piece of paper. These spells are indispensable while practicing the oracular activities.

The disciple, after getting his blessings from the Guru, comes to his house and starts practicing the course from the full-moon day of the month of Kartika.

This day is considered to be very suspicious. In a separate apartment in the vicinity of his house, he installs the image of Kallima. For a month, he confines himself to this room and performs Puja everyday. None but his wife is allowed into his room. She only comes at noon and at the close of the day to give food. For a month the disciple undergoes rigorous labours such as abstinence from sex, solvents, affairs of pay, etc. and lives on a vegetarian diet. The regular practice of spells and incantations is supposed to make him a master of the art. At the end of the month an ostentatious ritual is performed with the sacrifice of four chickens.

Nature and process of Oracular activities

The Oracles believe that there are two magical processes to trace out the stolen or lost things. The first process is called 'Bihar' or judgement. That means, things lost or stolen can be found out by way of judgement. Through the judgement the oracle can tell where, how and who has taken the things or the place where it is lying. The second process is called 'Bahan'. 'Bahan' is a small brass vessel which moves itself and stops near the place where the thing is hidden. This is called 'Searching out method'. These processes also help in searching out the evil eyes.

When a man faces some loss he seeks the help of the oracle. In this case the second method is used. The oracle comes to the house of the party and cleans a small portion of ground before the house. The ground is smeared with 'Dudhmat' (White Clay). The oracle draws various 'ams' squares on the smeared ground with charcoal. In each square he en- with a small piece

of back the names of persons who might be suspected and the places where the thing might have been kept. Then the child from the 'Trik' clan is called by the party. The child sits on an 'Awan' and a piece of cloth is laid over its eyes. The child is hypnotized by the oracle with the repeated spells. The child moves his head and hands frequently. To check this frame, when the oracle keeps his right palm on the right hand of the child. Then the child drops his hand and touches any one of the squares. Again his hand is taken out from the square and the same process is repeated. If the child touches the same square twice, the name of the persons or places written there is taken to be the required one. But if the hand of the child does not touch the ground at the names and places written on the squares are declared to cleared of suspicion. So again he writes other probable names on those squares. This process is very time taking and the actual name comes after a number of repetitions. Finally when the name of the person or the place is known a 'Sai' (leaf) is spread on the ground on which a 'Duba' or 'Bahan' is kept. The oracle recites mantras (hymns) and draws Anus, etc. on it. With his magical spell, the 'Duba' starts moving towards the suspected place or the person. If the 'Duba' comes to a person and moves round him, he is considered to be the thief. If the stolen thing is buried under the ground or kept inside the house, the 'Duba' will be seen or go near the place. The person concerned or the place is ascertained by this process.

The first method called 'Bahan' is used only when the accused is known to have left the village and remaining

in some neighbouring area. Sometimes the things lost (like cows, bullocks, buffaloes) are known by this method. The man who casts evil eyes is also known by this method. Here the 'Judgement' is told by a 'Bahan' whose appearance is reflected on the digit of the finger.

This method is considered very authentic as the pictorial appearance of the real thing is visible. When the picture is visible the party can easily recognize the person, animal or thing.

In this case also the oracle practices in the same manner as before. The boy from the 'Trik' clan is called and seated on an 'Awan'. Before him an earthen picture is filled up with water is kept, above which a small strip of bamboo is used to breathe the redistal when his appearance is visible. A black oily substance is smeared at the top digit of the middle finger of the boy. The boy raises his hand upward showing the middle finger towards the oracle. The oracle recites mantras and invokes 'Kakhar' to help him. Suddenly the 'Dua' or 'Bahan' appears around. The 'Ka' (leaf) is visible at the black-colored 'Jig' which seems to be transparent. The 'Bahan' is frightened by this contact with the spirit of bamboo to catch the actual criminal or to show the place where the stolen thing is kept. The figure gradually fades away. Just after a few minutes the actual criminal becomes visible. With the appearance of the figure the boy loses stress.

The oracle is highly valued by the masses in their villages. When a man does not get the desired output from his lands, he naturally blames the evil eyes. To justify this, he approaches the oracle, who tells him the actual cause.

The oracle can trace out the evil eyes easily. If it is due to 'deota' or dissatisfaction of the postebalar (protection spirits), he advises the person to worship them by giving proper sacrifice. In the case of death, the oracle is also consulted. When a man faces an unusual death, his people consult the oracle and know the cause of death. The oracle is also consulted to ascertain the reasons of barrenness of women. An oracle is very useful when a farmer chooses a new homestead site. When a man chooses a site for constructing the house he never starts without consulting the oracle. The owner is concerned about suspicious or suspicious nature of the place. The oracle goes to the site and uncovers a small portion of the ground with crowing. Then he keeps 'arus rice'

in three different places giving small gaps. He then covers these 'tuba' (date leaf) on the rice very carefully and leaves it alone to remain throughout the night. Early in the next morning he comes and examines the covered rice. If the rice is scattered the place is considered suspicious and the house can never be constructed there, but if it remains in tact the place is declared to be auspicious.

Magi is ordinarily employed for therapeutic purposes. The distinctive feature of oracular magi is that it is also employed for detection of crimes. Thus in the orson society both red-eyes and the various rule of the tribe form an integrated pattern in conjunction with magi.

In less than two years the Third Five-Year Plan will close yielding up place to the 4th. The transition from plan to plan has been marked by increased activity on the welfare of Backward Classes. In the First Plan of Omisa was of the order of Rs. 117.98 lakhs. In the 2nd it increased to Rs. 74.00 lakhs and in the 3rd the estimated outlay is Rs. 84.67 lakhs. Under both State and Central Sectors. The Fourth Five-Year Plan will also see the allocations are kept up on a par or likely to be of a still higher order and we may expect it to be at least 100 per cent of the Third Five-Year Plan outlay.

This special provision is intended to supplement the efforts which are made for the welfare of the Backward Classes out of provisions in the departments, budgets particularly

of those concerning development of Agriculture, Education, Animal Husbandry, Co-operation, Health and Sanitation, Industries, Housing, etc. Although in this State no earmarking has not been attempted as in Andhra Pradesh, it is intended that a suitable portion of the investment should be made for the specific benefit of the Backward Classes which would be supplemented by the special provisions. Accordingly, a substantial amount of expenditure is expected to be made on this account and as stated above its size is going to increase in future.

It would not be in vain to pause for a moment to look back and also to look ahead particularly against the background of formulation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan and possibly on still future Plans but it would be

well as clear consent to confine our outlook to a more concrete field, i.e., Education and Employment. The sphere of economic development would be comparatively a more elusive pursuit. In 1961, the level of literacy of the Scheduled Tribes, the main wing of the Backward Classes in this State was only 1.30 per cent against the general level of 9.70 per cent which

rose by 1961, according to the census figures, to 7.34 per cent and 7.66 per cent, respectively. By the year 1961 we were in the beginning of the Third Five-year Plan period. In the matter of employment, against the reservation of 20 per cent in Classes I and II and 50 per cent in Classes III and IV of Government services the achievement was as below:

Year	Class I			Class II		
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1939-40	220			654	4	0.64
1961-62	481		9.70	2,360	6	0.42

Year	Class III			Class IV		
	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Scheduled Tribes	Percentage
1	8	9	10	11	12	13
1939-40	25,402	1,384	7.02	21,151	1,794	8.48
1961-62	45,619	3,227	7.18	40,272	3,188	7.92

From the available statistics it appears that among the Scheduled Tribes, the number of boys and

girls who have passed different levels of qualifying examinations was as under

Year	Middle standard	High school	Upper medium	Graduates
1951	1,216	15	37	8
1961	2,499	222	70	13

The estimated number of School-going Scheduled Tribe children of different age-groups was as follows

In the year 1961-62, the number of children in school is also shown in the table —

Age-group	Total No.	Not attending school	Percentage attending school
4-6 Primary & Middle	99,307	196,835	22.43
15-18 High School	296,74	5,316	80

These figures merely confirm the fact that there is still a vast gap to be made up by the Scheduled Tribes to come to a comparable level with the general population in the matter of education and employment. They also lend some clue as to why the Scheduled Tribes are still socially backward and economically poor and exploited. They also explain in some measure why the Scheduled Tribes have not been able to take advantage of the employment opportunities that are opening up even in their own areas. Not only small-scale industries are growing up, but some of the large-scale industries on the national level are springing up at their very doorstep. The Bokaro Steel Factory and Fertilizer Plant, and the Aero-

engine Factory are instances of this. In the case of the former where the construction phase is over expansion programmes hold a substantial employment potential for the skilled and semi-skilled worker. In the latter case almost the whole field awaits expansion.

The Adivasi does grow a number of oil-seeds and rain crops and fruits like banana, pineapple and jack-fruits on a fairly extensive scale in some areas. He has almost the monopoly of collection of forest produce like jamunad, broom, gum, honey and grows Tassar and Lac in some parts. The production of crops like turmeric and ginger in the hills and daks of the Adivasi

money is almost his birth right, monopoly. Yet, in all these there is the unenviable position of the losing partner only. The trading class middlemen rob him of the produce which he has perforce to part with almost for a song in all cases. He is not able to withstand this large scale exploitation.

He clears the forests and breaks new land for cultivation at great personal struggle and risk, but hardly ever escapes the cunning ruse of the money-men from parting with the land and falling in perpetual bondage of the latter who cleverly manipulates to get round the legal hurdles in the way of transfer of the land. The Adibasi is not able to withstand the exploitation.

He sees hard the face of natural and man made hurdles on the road to a living however meagre, but finds in the end left with almost nothing. To fight his hunger and frustration he takes to drink, but soon falls a prey to its demeriting effect. He attacks social customs, religious rituals, and even economic processes to liquor and his priest supports the evil practice under religious sanctions and superstitious beliefs. The Adibasi finds it impossible to withstand all this.

All this point to one inevitable conclusion the Adibasi must come to his own, he must be able to stand on his own legs and fight the cunning and exploitation. He must realise that life is not to be lived indifferently under a cloud of frustration. He must have ambition and also the ability to enjoy the fruits of his labour. He should also be able to withstand temptation of the evils of modern

life. Instances are not rare where it has been shown that the benefits of the schemes undertaken for the economic development of the backward Classes were nil others, as Ceylan some years ago for the Veddhas a very backward tribe, community of Ceylon, a large scale resettlement scheme was put into execution. Large forest areas were reclaimed and developed for agriculture with irrigation and other facilities. The Veddhas families were given good houses to live in and he and was asked to cultivate by them. They reaped a bumper harvest, from the land got good returns from the poultry as a such family was given to rear on modern plan. In short they had almost a transformation. But it was noticed that in the majority of the settlements, houses grew up. Traders from the towns and cities brought wares ranging from cycles and clothes to silks and songs and pesticides. The Veddhas were able or no time to be fascinated by the novelties and gadgets and a local hand comes, wealth flowed to the trader's chest. They became indebted to them and started mortgaging their lands. The impact of modern life appeared to threaten the apparent prospects of the Veddhas. This attracted the attention of the administrators and social workers and as a result a study of the problem was undertaken being sponsored by the UNESCO. This is a concrete success in the field of welfare works for backward people to illustrate how a micro-economic programme may not yield the desired result. It has to be a comprehensive programme, and perhaps equal or greater emphasis on building up the out-cast, and mental work as would be necessary.

We have embarked upon programmes of Backward Classes welfare, and as stated above the executive plans are designed to put in increasing outlay for that. Here in our State the brunt of the burden for execution of the schemes is borne by two agencies, viz., (1) the Local Bodies or the Panchayati Raj institutions, and (2) the Government agency. We are still lacking the non-official agency. The opinion is sometimes expressed that in the case of the more backward tribes the traditional tribal council should take the place of the statutory Local Bodies. It has been noticed that in some cases the elected representatives being illiterate and uninformed are not taking any interest in the work of the Panchayats or are operating as mere bench-men of the few clever and cunning non-tribal members who are holding the key positions in the Panchayats. But there are also cases where not the traditional, e.g., social and religious leaders, but young active and popular persons, have been chosen and they are seen to be comparatively less amenable to serve the second fiddle. It may be getting the clock back to replace the statutory by the traditional councils.

We are thus left with the two agencies of the Local Bodies with elected representatives, and the Government staff to handle the execution of the schemes. To get the desired result three things are necessary, so that the representatives, and bureaucracy can function in the right direction and right spirit and with efficiency.

Firstly, the representatives in the Panchayati Raj institutions, particularly the Grama Panchayat and

Panchayat Samiti must receive intensive training in the organisation and functioning of the Panchayati Raj and execution and supervision of schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes. They should believe in the measures adopted for this purpose and in respect of schemes practice a few of them according to their inclination and preference. They should know the programmes intimately and show by example that the schemes are worth execution. One may show that in respect of horticulture, and poultry rearing. But all must emphasise the programmes of education and training. They will have to take keen interest in the village school and all educational and social education programmes. In order to enable them to do so they shall have to be given the opportunity of training and education. This is the first essential.

Secondly, the Government officials who have the responsibility of execution starting from the Village Level Worker of the Block must know the tribal background and must be trained in the proper approach to the Backward Classes. They, at least some of them, have a rich heritage of culture and outstanding qualities of forbearance, and a sense of independence and lack of complex. They have their own sense of values which they respect in society. The workers have to understand all that and approach them in the proper manner and spirit. In some cases the tribals do not understand much of the local language. Contact with them for one who does not know their dialect is possible only through the local non-tribal who

usually exploits them. It is, therefore, necessary for the workers to have a good working knowledge of tribal languages of the areas. This will enable them to win their confidence which is essentially necessary for successful implementation of the schemes. Like the representatives on the Local Bodies, these workers also should not only have clear grasp of the details of schemes, and they should also set example by practising them as far as practicable to impress that they believe in the schemes for the welfare of the Backward Classes and also that they are productive of good results.

Thirdly, the Government employees who are entrusted with the execution of schemes for the welfare of Backward Classes should be given encouragement and opportunity to work wholeheartedly for the success of the schemes. On the other hand the Block and other staff when they are posted to such areas usually take it as an unlucky act and they are anxious to get away from there. Since they are cut off from common amenities of life they deserve to be suitably compensated in the shape of special allowance, special consideration for promotion and posting after a suitable period of service in the backward area. This is the third essential.

IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL & RURAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT DURING THE QUARTER ENDING THE 31ST MARCH 1964

Administrative set up

Shri B. G. Rao Patnaik, I.A.S., assumed the charge of the office of the Secretary, Tribal & Rural Welfare Department and Director, Tribal Research Bureau, with effect from the 22nd February 1964. A temporary garrisoned post of Special Officer, Tribal Art and Culture, in the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department in the code of Rs. 500-800 has been created for one year, with effect from the 1st March 1964 to the 28th February 1965 for reorientation of tribal dance, drama and music in the State.

Education

During the quarter under review 335 Scheduled Tribe students, 677 Scheduled Caste students and 880 Other Backward Class students were awarded Post-Matric Scholarships. An amount of Rs. 12,21,557 was spent for the purpose.

With a view to watch the progress of general education and other activities of the students residing in the Ashram Schools, monthly examination in different subjects has been introduced on the lines adopted in Public Schools. It has also been decided to maintain monthly progress chart in respect of each student. These charts will indicate their progress in general education and their conduct in school and hostel and behaviour with fellow students, teachers and outsiders.

Economic Uplift

In view of increase in the cost of building materials the State Government moved Government of India to enhance the rate of subsidy for construction of houses for Scheduled Tribes from Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,250. Government of India have agreed to raise the upper limit of the subsidy to Rs. 1,600 out of which 75 per cent will be borne by Government and the balance will be contributed by the beneficiaries in shape of labour.

Miscellaneous

(a) A seminar on employment, education and training of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes was convened at New Delhi from the 30th January 1964 to the 2nd February 1964. The Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare, Director and Special Officer attended the conference.

The twelfth meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 29th February 1964 under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister. The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Classification of Scheduled Tribes in Orissa
- (2) Reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in various services.

- (3) To make more stringent the existing rules prohibiting transfer of immovable property by Tribals to non-tribals.
- (4) Restriction on non-tribals engaged in Poda cultivation.
- (5) Reorganisation of field staff of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department.
- (6) Payment of scholarship to all Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste students reading in various educational institutions.

A conference of District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officers and regional Deputy Directors of Grama Panchayat and Tribal Welfare was also held at Bhubaneswar on the 9th February 1964 and 10th February 1964, under the Chairmanship of Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare.

The following important subjects were discussed:—

- (1) Timely distribution of scholarship and reading and writing materials
- (2) Repairs to Sevashram buildings
- (3) Progress of Orchard Scheme introduced in Ashram School
- (4) Clearance of D. C. Bith

The second meeting of the Advisory Board of Tribal Research Bureau was held on 9th March 1964 with the Minister, Tribal & Rural Welfare in the Chair. The Board recommended a scheme for expansion of the Research Bureau. A comprehensive plan for the culture survey of the most backward tribal areas was also prepared by the Board.

(b) The pavilion set up by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department within the premises of Industrial Exhibition during last plenary session of the All-India National Congress at Bhubaneswar occupied first place in respect of decoration and display. The life and culture of tribals depicted in a large number of dioramas and exhibition of their material culture and life-size photographs were the greatest attractions of the whole exhibition.